THREE LETTERS Concerning the Present State OF ITALY.

Written in the Year 1687.

I. *Relating* to the Affair of *MOLINOS*, and the QUIETISTS.
II *Relating* to the INQUISITION, and the State of *Religion.*
III. *Relating* to the *Policy* and *Intereſts* of ſome of the *States* of *ITALY*,

Being A SUPPLEMENT to Dr. *BURNET'S* LETTERS.

By G. Burnet

Printed in the Year 1688.

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A

A

LETTER

Writ from

ROME,

To one in *Holland*, concerning the

QUIETISTS.

SIR,

YOur desire of being informed particularly by me, of the state of *Religion* and *Learning* in *Italy*, and chiefly here at *Rome*, has quickned my curiosity, and has set an edge upon a humour that is of it self Inquisitive enough: and tho I am not so much in love with writing, as to delight in transmitting you long *Letters*, yet I find I have matter at present for a very long one; chiefly in that which relates to the *Quietists*: for you observe right, that the short hints that *Dr. Burnet* gave of their matters in his *Letters*, did rather increase the curiosity of

the *Engliſh*, than ſatisfy it. He told as much as was generally known in *Rome* at that time, concerning them; but as a longer ſtay might have diſcovered more particulars to him, ſo there have fallen out ſince that time ſuch new and ſurpriſing accidents, that there is not more hearkening after new *Evidence* in *England*, upon the breaking out of *Plots*, than there was at *Rome* upon the Impriſonment of ſo great a number of perſons in *February* and *March* laſt; the number alone of 200 *perſons*, was enough to raiſe a great curioſity; but this was much encreaſed by the quality of the perſons that were clapt up, who were both for Rank, for Learning, and for Piety the moſt eſteemed of any in *Rome*. So I was puſht on by my own Inclinations, as well as by your Entreaties, to take all the pains that was poſſible for me, to be well informed of this matter. The particular Application with which I had read ſome of the Books of Devotion writ in this method, and the pleaſure, and, I hope, profit, that it had found in it, made me ſtill the more earneſt to know this matter to the bottom. It is true, it was hard to find it out: for thoſe who have been in *Rome*, know with how much caution all people there talk of matters that are before the *Inquiſition*: thoſe are like the Secrets of State elſewhere: of which a man cannot talk much without

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incurrring ſome Inconvenience; and there is no Inconvenience that is more terrible at *Rome*, than the falling into the hands of the *Inquiſitors*: for beſides the Danger that a man runs, if the ſuſpitions are well founded, the leaſt ill effect that this muſt have, is the cutting off all a mans hopes of Preferment; for what a Suſpition of *High Treaſon* is elſewhere, the Suſpition of *Hereſy* is at *Rome*; and where there are many Pretenders, and there is ſo much to be expected, you may imagine that Hope and Fear working at the ſame time ſo powerfully, it muſt be very hard to ingage ſuch perſons as probably know the ſecret of things, to truſt themſelves upon ſo tender a point, to ſtrangers. The truth is, *Learning* is ſo low in *Italy*, and the Opinion that they have of the Learning of *Strangers*, chiefly of *Hereticks*, is ſo high, that they do not willingly enter either on Subjects of *Learning* or of *Religion* with them; and on the other hand a *Stranger* and a *Heretick*, who is conſidered as a *Spye*, or a fair Enemy at beſt, will not find it convenient to thruſt on ſuch ſubjects of converſation, as are tender and ſuſpitious. All this is to prepare you for a relation which you will perhaps think defective, yet is as full as I could poſſibly gather, out of all the Hints and Informations that ſome months ſtay at *Rome* procured me.

The firſt thing that ſurpriſes a *ſtranger* in *Rome*, is the very unequal mixture of *Wealth* and *Poverty*, that he ſees here, as well as in all the parts of *Italy*; yet it is more conſpicuous here, than elſewhere: for as the *Wealth* of the *Churches*, *Places* and *Convents* is aſtoniſhing, ſo the *Poverty* of the *Inhabitants*, and the meanneſs of the ordinary Buildings, is extreamly unſuteable to the magnificence of the other. When a man ſees what *Italy* was an Age or two ago, not to go back ſo far as to remember what *Rome* was once; he can hardly imagin how ſuch a fall, ſuch a diſpeopling, and ſuch a poverty could befall a *Nation* and *Climate*, that Nature has made to be one of the richeſt of the world, or of *Europe* at leaſt; if the PRIESTS had not at the ſame time a ſecret to make the *Natives* miſerable, in ſpite of all that Abundance with which Nature has furniſhed them. It were not able to withſtand even an ordinary Enemy, and it can ſcarce ſupport it ſelf. Thoſe *Italians* that have ſeen the Wealth and Abundance that is in *England* and *Holland*, tho their *Sun* is leſs favourable, and their *Climate* is more unhappy, and that come home to ſee their *Towns* deſerted, and their *Inhabitants* in Raggs, ſpeak of this ſometimes with an Indignation that is too ſenſible to be at all times kept within bounds. They ſpeak of the difference between *Holland* and

Italy

Italy like men affected when they compared the *two* ſoils and Climates together. The one is a *ſoil* divided between *ſand* and *turff*, preſerved from the Inundations of *Land-floods*, and the overflowing of the *ſea*, at a vaſt Charge, ſuffering often ſuch loſſes as would ruin other *ſtates*, and paying great and conſtant impoſitions: and yet with all theſe Inconveniences, and all the diſadvantages of a feeble *ſun*, a ſtagnating and phlegmatick *Air*, violent *Colds*, and moderate, or at leaſt very ſhort *Heats*, this *Countrey* is full of *Wealth* and *People*; and there is in it ſuch an abundance of great *Towns* and conſiderable *villages*, and in all theſe there appear ſo many marks of *plenty*, and none at all of *Want*: and the *other* has a kind *ſun*, long and happy *Summers*, and mild *Winters*: a fruitful and rich *ſoil*, and every thing that the *Inhabitants* can wiſh for on Natures part, to render them the Envy of the World: whereas they are become the *Scorn* and contempt of all that ſee them. And as much as the *Dutch* ſeem to have acted in ſpite of Nature on the one hand, in rendring themſelves much more conſiderable than ſhe has intended they ſhould be; ſo the Government of *Italy* ſeems to have reverſed the deſign of Nature as much on the other hand, by reducing the *Inhabitants* to ſuch a degree of Miſery, in ſpite of all her Bounty: upon this ſubject

the *Italians* will talk more freely than upon matters of *Religion*: and do not ſtick to ſay, that it flows from the ſhare that PRIESTS have in the Government, and that not only in the *Popes* Territory, but in all the other *Courts* of *Italy*, where they have the main ſtroke. They will tell you, That *Prieſts* have not Souls big enough, nor tender enough for Government: they have both a narrowneſs of Spirit, and a ſourneſs of Mind, that does not agree with the Principles of human Society. Their having ſo ſhort and ſo uncertain a time of governing, makes them think only on the preſent, ſo that they do not carry their proſpect to the Happineſs of, or miſery that muſt be the conſequences of what they do, at any conſiderable diſtance of time: nor have they thoſe Compaſſions for the Miſerable with which wiſe *Governours* ought to temper all their Counſels, for a ſtern ſourneſs of temper, and an unrelenting hardneſs of heart, ſeems to belong to all that ſort of *men* in *Italy*. Whatſoever advances their preſent Intereſts, and inriches their families, is preferred to all wiſe, great or generous Councels. Now tho the *Natives* dare not carry this matter further, yet a *ſtranger*, that thinks more freely, and that has examined matters of Religion, in a more Inquiſitive manner, ſees plainly that all theſe errors in *Government*, are the

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effects of their *Religion* and of that Authority which they believe is lodged in the *Pope* chiefly, and of which every *Prieſt* has ſo conſiderable a ſhare that he is eaſily able to make himſelf maſter of every mans Conſcience that lets him into it, and that believes thoſe *three* great branches of their power: that *they can pardon their ſins, make their God,* and *ſecure them both from Hell and Purgatory.* Theſe are things of ſuch a mighty operation, that if it is not eaſy to imagine how they ſhould be ſo eaſily believed, yet ſuppoſing once the belief of them, all other things flow very naturally from thence: men are not convinced of theſe errors till it is too late to come and undeceive others. It is true, many of the *Italians* believe theſe things as little as we do; yet this is in them rather an effect of a looſe and libertine temper, than of ſtudy and enquiry, in a *Countrey* where not only *Heretical Books* would endanger a man, but the bare reading even of a *Latin* New *Teſtament* would give ſome ſuſpition. But the thinking men among them are led to doubt of all things, rather from a principle of *Atheiſm,* than of ſearching into matters of Controverſy: the one is much leſs dangerous there, than the other would be. And indeed as ſoon as a man becomes a little familiar with any of the *men* of freer thoughts here, he will ſoon ſee that the belief of their *Religion* has

very little power over many of thoſe who are the moſt zealous to ſupport it, only becauſe their Intereſt determins them. When a man has lived ſome time at *Rome*, and has known a little of the miſteries of the *Conclave*, with the *Characters* both of the preſent & the late *Popes*, particularly the weakneſs and Ignorance of *him* that now *reigns*, who does not ſo much as underſtand *Latin*; when a man ſees how matters are carried in that *Court*, what are the *Maximes* they go by, and the *Methods* that they take; when he ſees what a ſort of men the *Cardinals* are, men indeed of great Civility, and of much Craft; but as to the matters of *Religion*, men of an equal ſize both of ignorance and Indifference: when a man ſees how all preferments are obtained, but chiefly how the *purple* is given, and how men riſe up to the *Triple Crown*: when, I ſay, a man has ſeen and obſerved all this a little, he cannot wonder enough at the *Character* that ſo great a part of the World ſets on that *Court*. The plain and ſimple Arguments of Common ſenſe work ſo ſtrong, that *Tranſubſtantiation* it ſelf is not harder to be believed, than that this man is Chriſts *Vicar*, a man of *Infallibility*, and the ſource or channel at leaſt of divine *truth*. So that a man that has given himſelf the opportunities of obſerving theſe matters Critically, will feel a perſuaſion of the falſehood of thoſe pretenſions formed ſo deep in him, that all the Sophiſtry

ſtry of Argument will never be able to overthrow it: for the plain ſenſe of what he has ſeen will apparently diſcover the deluſion of thoſe Reaſons, which perhaps he is not learned enough to anſwer: for let men ſay what they will, it is no eaſy matter to believe in a Contradiction to the clear Evidence of ſence: and I cannot make my ſelf ſo much as doubt, but that as *Cato* was wont to wonder how it came that every one of the *Heathen Prieſts* did not laugh when he ſaw another of the *Trade*, ſo the *Cardinals* when they look on one another, and a *Pope* even as Ignorant a one as the *preſent Pope* is, when he receives the ſubmiſſions that are offered him by all who are of that *Communion*, muſt laugh within himſelf when he ſees how lucky that Impoſture is, which has ſubdued the World into ſo much reſpect for him, and to ſo great a dependance on him. A *man* who ſees all theſe things upon the place, and is of an Age capable of making ſolid Reflections, and has a due portion of Learning, muſt return amaſed, not ſo much at thoſe who being already under the *Yoke*, have neither knowledge nor courage enough to ſhake it off, nor at thoſe who go into it becauſe they find their account in it, and ſo hope to have a good ſhare of the ſpoil, as at *thoſe* who have ſhaken off the Yoke, and have got into more *Liberty* and more *Knowledg*, and feel the happy Influence of their deliverance even in their

Civil Liberties and other *Temporal* Concerns, if they ſhould ever come ſo much as to deliberate whether they ought to return and ſerve their old and ſevere *Maſters*, or not. For my part, I ſpeak freely to you, that I could ſooner bring my mind to believe that there is no ſuch thing as *Inſtituted Religion*; and that it is enough for men to be juſt and honeſt, civil and obliging, and to have a general reverence for the *Deity*, than ever to think that ſuch *Stuff* as the *men* of the *Miſſion* would impoſe on the World can be true. Chiefly in that part of it which relates to the *Popes Authority*, after all that I have ſeen and known.

You will perhaps think, that this is a long digreſſion, or at leaſt a very improper introduction to that which I told you I would offer to you, ſince the relation that all this has with the matter of the *Quietiſts*, does not appear to be ſo very proper. Yet you will perhaps change your mind, when I tell you, that the Miſeries of *Italy*, that the Averſion that all men of ſenſe there have to the Artifices of their *Religion*, and chiefly to the conduct of the *Regulars*, and above all, of the *Jeſuites*, is believed the true reaſon that led ſuch numbers of *men* of all ſorts to be ſo favourable to *Molinos*: to which this was rather to be aſcribed, than to any Etraordinary Elevation of Piety or Devotion, of which

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ſo little appears in that Country, that nothing which touches only upon that Principle can have great effects among them. Men that are ſick, turn to all ſorts of remedies: and thoſe who are diſcontented, do naturally go into every new thing that either promiſes relief, or that wounds thoſe that diſpleaſe them. The preſent ſtate of things in *Italy* being ſuch as I have deſcribed it, you need not wonder to find ſo many ready to hearken after any thing that ſeemed both *new* and *ſafe*. For as the Novelty gave that curioſity which might draw in many, ſo the ſafety that ſeemed to be in a Method of Devotion in which ſo many of the Canoniſed *Saints* had gone before them, and which appeared at firſt authoriſed by the Approbation of ſo many *inquiſitours*, made them apprehend that there could be no danger in it. In the recital that I am to give you, I do not pretend to tell you all the whole affair: nor will aſſure you of the truth of all that you will find here. For in matters of this nature, in which Intereſt and Paſſion are apt to work ſo ſtrongly, there are always ſo many falſe Reports ſpread, and matters are ſo often aggravated on the one hand, and diminiſhed or denied on the other, that I will not ſay but there may be ſome things here that upon a ſtricter inquiry will perhaps appear not to be well founded; yet of this I will aſſure

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you very positively, that I have Invented and added nothing my self. I leave those arts to the *Italians*, and the *Court* of *Rome*: therefore I will tell you things nakedly and simply, as I found them, without adding so much as one Circumstance out of my own Invention. I also made as much use of my Judgement as was possible for me to do, both in considering the Circumstances of those with whom I talked on those heads, and the things themselves that they said to me; so I let pass all that seemed to be the effect of Passion or Prejudice, and only marked down that which seemed to be true, as well as that which I had from men who I had reason to believe. My *Informers* were men of Probity and of Sense; they were not indeed easily brought to talk of this *Subject*, and they spoke of it with great Reserves: so that there may be many defects, and possibly some mistakes in the account that I am to offer you; yet you must be contented with it; for it is all that I could gather; and it is not corrupted with any mixture of my own.

Michael de Molinos is a *Spaniard*, of a good and Opulent Family. He entred into *Priests Orders*, but had never any Ecclesiastical *Benefice*: so that he seemed to have dedicated himself to the service of the *Church*, without designing any Advantage by it to him-

himſelf. He paſſes in *Italy* for a man both of *Learning* and of good *Senſe*. His courſe of life has been exact, but he has never practiſed thoſe Auſterities that are ſo much magnified in the *Church* of *Rome*, and among the Religious *Orders*: and as he did not affect to practiſe them, ſo he did not recommend them to others; nor was he fond of thoſe poor *Superſtitions* that are ſo much magnified by the trafficking men of that *Church*. But he gave in to the Method of the *Myſtical Divines*, of which, ſince your ſtudies have not perhaps lien much that way, I ſhall give you this ſhort account.

That ſublime, but myſterious way of *Devotion*, was not ſet out by any of the firſt *Writers* of the *Church*; which is indeed a great Prejudice againſt it: for how many ſoever they may be, who have followed it in the latter Ages, yet *Caſſians Collations*, which is a work of the middle of the *fifth* Century, is the antienteſt Book that is writ in that ſtrain: For the pretended *Denis* the *Areopagite* is now by the conſent of all learned men thought no Elder than the end of the fifth or the beginning of the ſixth Century. Yet after theſe *Books* appeared, very few followed the elevated ſtrains that were in them: The latter was indeed too dark to be either well underſtood or much followed. So that this way of *Devotion*, if it was practiſed

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in *Religious Houſes*, yet was not much ſet out to the World before *S. Bernards* time, whoſe melting ſtrains, tho a little too much laboured and affected, yet have ſomething in them that both touches and pleaſes: after him many began to write in that ſublime ſtrain; ſuch as *Thauler*, *Ruſbrachius*, *Harphius*, *Suſo*, but above all *Thomas a Kempis*. And when for ſome conſiderable time that way of *writing* was diſcontinued, it was again raiſed up in the laſt Age, with much luſter by *S. Tereſa*; and after her by *Baltaſar Alvares* a *Jeſuit*: and as *England* produced a *Carthuſian* in King *Henry* the ſixths time, one *Walter Hilton*, who writ the *Scale of Perfection*, a Book Inferiour to none of theſe I have cited, and more ſimple and natural than moſt of them; ſo of late F. *Creſſy* has publiſhed out of F. *Bakers* Papers, who was a *Benedictine*, a whole body of that method of *Divinity* and *Devotion*. The right notion of this way of Devotion is ſomewhat hard to be well underſtood, by thoſe who have not ſtudied their *Metaphiſicks*, and is entangled with too many of the terms of the School; yet I ſhall give it to you as free of theſe as is poſſible.

With relation to *Devotion* they conſider a man in *three* different degrees of Progreſs and Improvement: the firſt is the *Animal*, or the Imaginative ſtate: in which the Impreſ-

preſſions of *Relegion* work ſtrongly upon a mans Fancy, and his ſenſitive Powers: this ſtate is but low and mean, and ſuteable to the Age of a Child; and all the *Devotion* that works this way, that raiſes a heat in the Brain, tenderneſs in the Thoughts, that draws Sighs and Tears, and that awakens many melting *Imaginations*, is of a low form, variable, and of no great force. The ſecond ſtate is the *Rational*, in which thoſe Reflections that are made on Truths, which convince ones *reaſon*, carry one to all ſuteable Acts: this they ſay is dry, and without motion: it is a Force which the Reaſon puts upon the Will, and tho upon a great Variety of Motives, and many *Meditations* upon them, the mind goes thro a great many performances of *Devotion*, yet this is ſtill a Force put upon the *will*. So they reckon that the third and higheſt ſtate is the *Contemplative*, in which the *Will* is ſo united to God, and overcome by that Union, that in one ſingle Act of *Contemplation*, it adores God, it loves him, and reſigns it ſelf up to him: and without wearying it ſelf with a dry multiplicity of *Acts*, it feels in one act of faith more force than a whole day of Meditation can produce. In this they ſay that a true *Contemplative Man*, feels a ſecret Joy in God, and an acquieſcing in his Will; in which the true elevation of *Devotion* lies; and which is

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far above either the heats of *Fancy*, which accompany the *firſt* ſtate, or the Subtilty of *Meditation*, that belongs to the *ſecond* ſtate: and they ſay, that the perfection of a *Contemplative ſtate* above the others, appears in this, that whereas all men are not capable of forming lively *Imaginations*, or of a fruitful Invention, yet every man is capable of the ſimplicity of *contemplation*: which is nothing *but the ſilent and humble adoration of God, that ariſes out of a pure and quiet mind.* But becauſe all this may appear a little intricate, I ſhall illuſtrate it by a ſimilitude, which will make the difference of thoſe *three ſtates* more ſenſible. 1. A *man* that ſees the exteriour of *another*, with whom he has no acquaintance, and is much taken with his face, ſhape, quality, and meen, and this has a blind prevention in his favour, and a ſort of a feeble kindneſs for him, may be compared to him whoſe *Devotion* conſiſts in lively *Imaginations*, and tender Impreſſions on his lower and ſenſible Powers: 2. A *man* that upon an acquaintance with *another*, ſees a great many reaſons to value and eſteem, both his parts and his Vertues, yet in all this he feels no inward Charm that overcomes him, and knits his ſoul to the other; ſo that how high ſoever the eſteem may be, yet it is cold and dry, and does not affect his heart much, may be compared to one whoſe *Devotion* conſiſts in many Acts, and much

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Meditation. But 3dly, when a *man* enters into an entire friendſhip with *another*, then one ſingle Thought of his Friend, affects him more tenderly, than all that variety of reflections, which may ariſe in his mind, where this Union is not felt. And thus they explain the ſublime ſtate of *Contemplation.* And they reckon that all the common methods of *Devotion*, ought to be conſidered, only as ſteps to raiſe men up to this ſtate: when men reſt and continue in them, they are but dead and lifeleſs Forms: and if they riſe above them, they become Cloggs and Hinderances, which amuſe them with many dry Performances, in which thoſe who are of a higher Diſpenſation will feel no pleaſure nor advantage. Therefore the uſe of the *Roſary*, the daily repeating the *Breviary*, together with the common *Devotions* to the *Saints*, are generally laid aſide by thoſe who riſe up to the *Contemplative* State, and the chief buſineſs to which they apply themſelves, is *to keep their Minds in an inward Calm and Quiet*, that ſo they may in ſilence form ſimple *Acts* of Faith, and feel thoſe *inward Motions* and *Directions* which they believe follow all thoſe who riſe up to this Elevation. But becauſe a man may be much deceived in thoſe Inſpirations, therefore they recommend to all who enter into this method, above all other things, the choice of a *Spiritual Guide*, who

who has a right ſenſe and a true taſt of thoſe matters, and is by Conſequence a Competent Judge in them.

This is all that I will lay before you in general, for giving you ſome taſt of *Molinos*'s Methods; and by this you will both ſee why his *Followers* are called QUIETISTS, and why his *Book* is Entituled *il Guida Spirituale*. But if you intend to Inform your ſelf more particularly of this matter, you muſt ſeek for it, either in the *Authors* that I have already mentioned, or in thoſe of which I am to give you ſome account in the ſequel of this Letter. *Molinos* having it ſeems drunk in the principles of the *Contemplative Devotion* in *Spain*, where the great Veneration that is payed to S. *Tereſa* gives it much reputation, he brought over with him to *Italy* a great Zeal for propagating it. He came and ſetled at *Rome*, where he writ his *Book*, and entred into a great commerce with the *men* of the beſt Apprehenſions, and the moſt Elevated thoughts that he found there. All that ſeemed to concur with him in his deſign for ſetting on foot this ſublimer way, were not perhaps animated with the ſame principles. Some deſigned ſincerely to elevate the World above thoſe poor and trifling *Superſtitions*, that are ſo much in vogue, among all the *Bigots* of the Church of *Rome*, but more particularly in *Spain* and *Italy*, and which

which are so much set on by almost all the *Regulars*, who seem to place *Religion* chiefly in the exact performing of them. It was thought that others entred into the design upon more indirect motives. Some perhaps from the aversion that they bore the *Regulars*, were disposed to entertain every thing that might lead mens *Devotions* into other Channels, and to a conduct different from that prescribed by *Friers* and *Jesuites*. Some perhaps had understandings good enough to see the necessity of correcting many things in their Worship, which yet they durst not attack as simply unlawful: so that it might appear more safe to expose these things to the Contempt of the World, by pretending to raise men far above them: and thus they might have hoped to have Introduced a *Reformation* of many Abuses without seeming to do it. *In fine*, some who seemed to enter into this matter, were men that aspired to fame, and hoped by this means to raise a Name to themselves; and to have a Party that should depend upon them; for in such great numbers as seemed to imbark in this design, it is not to be imagined that all were acted by the same motives, and that every man had as good Intentions as it is probable *Molinos* himself had.

In the year 1675. his *Book* was first published with *five approbations* before it. One of

of theſe was by the *Archbiſhop* of *Rheggio*; another was by the *General* of the *Franciſcans*, who was likewiſe one of the *Qualificators* of the *Inquiſition*: another was by Fa. *Martin de Eſparſa* a Jeſuit, that had been Divinity *Profeſſor* both at *Salamanca* and at *Rome*; and was at that time a *Qualificator of the Inquiſition*. As for the reſt, I refer you to the *Book* it ſelf. The *Book* was no ſooner printed, than it was much read and highly eſteemed both in *Italy* and *Spain*. It was conſidered as a *Book* writ with much Clearneſs and great ſimplicity; and this ſo raiſed the Reputation of the *Author*, that his Acquaintance came to be generally much deſired: thoſe who were in the greateſt credit in *Rome*, ſeemed to value themſelves upon his friendſhip. *Letters* were writ to him from all places: ſo that a correſpondence was ſetled between him and thoſe who approved of his *method* in many different places of *Europe*. Some ſecular *Prieſts* both at *Rome* and *Naples* declared themſelves openly for it: and conſulted him as a ſort of an Oracle upon many occaſions. But thoſe who joyned themſelves to him with the greateſt Heartineſs and Sincerity, were ſome of the *Fathers* of the *Oratory*, in particular three of the moſt Eminent of them, who were all advanced at the laſt *promotion* of Cardinals, *Coloredi*, *Ciceri*, but above all *Petrucci*, who was accounted his *Timothy*. Many of the *Cardinals* were alſo ob-

obſerved to court his Acquaintance: and they thought it no ſmall Honour to be reckoned in the number of *Molinos's* Friends. Such were *Caſſanata Azolini* and *Carpegna*; but above all Card. *d'Eſtrees*. The laſt you muſt needs know, is a man of great Learning: he was Ambitious to be thought a *Reformer* of ſome of thoſe Abuſes, which are among them, that are too groſs to paſs upon a man of his freedom of ſpirit; who had been bred up in the *Sorbon*, and had converſed much with Mr. de *Launay*. He therefore ſeemed the moſt zealous of all others to advance *Molinos's* Deſign: ſo that he entred into a very cloſe commerce with him. They were oft and long together: and notwithſtanding all the diſtruſt that a *Spaniard* has naturally of a *Frenchman*, and that all men have of one another, who have lived long at *Rome*, yet *Molinos*, who was ſincere and plain-hearted, opened himſelf without reſerve to the *Cardinal*: and by his means a Correſpondence was ſetled between *Molinos* and ſome in *France*: for tho the ſpirits of thoſe of that *Nation* go generally too quick for a way of *Devotion*, that was ſetled and ſilent, yet ſome were ſtrongly inclined to favour it even there. Perhaps it might be conſidered as a method more like to gain upon *Proteſtants*, and to facilitate the Deſign of the *Re-union*, that was ſo long talked of there. All theſe things concurred to raiſe *Molinos's* Cha-

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racter, and to render his perſon ſo conſiderable. When the *Pope* that now *reigns*, was advanced to the *Throne*, which was you know, in the year 1676. that he took moſt particular notice of him: and made it viſibly apparent, that even in all that Exaltation, he thought it might contribute to raiſe his *Character*, if he were conſidered as a friend of *Molinos*'s, and an Encourager of his Deſign: for he lodged him in an Appartment of the *Palace*; and put many ſingular Marks of his eſteem on him, this made him become ſtill the more Conſpicuous, when he had the advantage of *Favour* joyned to his other Qualities: tho he neither ſeemed to be fond of it, nor lifted up with it. His Converſation was much deſired; and many *Prieſts* came not only to form themſelves according to his *Method*, but to diſpoſe all their Penitents to follow it: and it grew to be ſo much in vogue in *Rome*, that all the *Nuns*, except thoſe who had *Jeſuites* to their *Confeſſors*, began to lay aſide their *Roſaries*, and other *Devotions*, and to give themſelves much to the practice of *Mental prayer*. This *way* had more Credit given to it by the tranſlation of a *French Book*, that was writ upon the ſame ſubject, which Cardinal *d'Eſtrees* ordered to be made. It was writ in the form of a *Dialogue* and was printed in *France* in the year 1669. by the *Approbation* of ſome of the Doctors of the *Sorbon*. I am able to give you no other account

count of the *Author*, but that in the *Italian* Tranſlation he is called *Francis Mallevalla*, a blind Clergy-man. The *Book* being chiefly formed upon the model of *S. Tereſe*, the Tranſlation of it was dedicated to the *Diſcalciate Carmelites* of her Order. This did not contribute a little for raiſing the credit of *Molinos*'s *Method*; ſince it appeared to be approved both in *Italy*, *France* and *Spain*. At the ſame time *Fa. Petrucci* writ a great many *Letters* and *Treatiſes* relating to a *Contemplative State*: yet he mixed in many of them, ſo many Rules relating to the *Devotions* of the *Quire*, that there was leſs occaſion given for cenſure in his *Writings*: They are a little too tedious; but they were writ chiefly for *Nuns* and others, that perhaps could not have apprehended his meaning aright, if he had expreſſed himſelf in a cloſer ſtile, and in fewer words. Both the *Jeſuites* and the *Dominicans* began to be alarmed at the progreſs of *Quietiſm*: they ſaw clearly, that their trade was in a decay, and muſt decay ſtill more and more, if ſome ſtop was not put to the progreſs of this *new Method*: in order to this, it was neceſſary to decry the *Authors* of it: and becauſe of all the Imputations in the world *Hereſy* is that which makes the greateſt Impreſſion at *Rome*, *Molinos* and his *Followers* were given out to be *Hereticks*. It being alſo neceſſary to faſten a particular

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Name to every *new Hereſy*, they branded this with the Name of *Quietiſm*. Books were alſo writ by ſome *Jeſuites* againſt *Molinos* and his Method; in which there appeared much of that Sourneſs and Malignity that is thought to be peculiar to the *Society*; they were alſo writ with their uſual candor and ſincerity. One of the Fathers *Segueri* took a more dextrous Method to decry it. He began his Book magnifying the *Contemplative State* highly, as Superiour to all others; and blaming thoſe who had ſaid any thing that ſeemed to detract from it: yet he corrected all this, by ſaying, *that very few were capable of it*, and *that none ought to pretend to it, but thoſe who were called by God to ſo ſublime a State*: and by this he ſeemed only to cenſure the Indiſcretion of thoſe *Spiritual Guides*, who propoſed this way of *Devotion* to all perſons, without diſtinction. He alſo believed, that ſuch as were at ſome times called to it, could not remain long in ſo high a ſtate, to which God called men rather for ſome happy Minutes, than for a longer continuance: therefore he thought that ſuch perſons as were raiſed to it, ought not to fancy that they were now got ſo far above all their former helps, as never to need them any more: ſo he propoſed to them the accuſtoming themſelves ſtill to *Meditation*, and to ſupport themſelves by that when they could not con-

contemplate. He cenſured ſeverely ſome of *Molinos*'s expreſſions, ſuch as that, *He who had God, had Chriſt*; as if this were an abandoning of Chriſts Humanity: he alſo inſiſted much on that of *a fixed looking on God*, and the *ſuſpending of all the Powers of the Soul:* but that on which he inſiſted moſt, was, that *Molinos* (whom he never named, tho he cited his Words, and deſcribed him very plainly) made the Quiet of *Contemplation* to be a *State* to which a man could raiſe himſelf; whereas he maintains, that in this Quiet the *Soul* is *paſſive*, and as it were in a rapture; and that ſhe could not raiſe her ſelf to it, but that it was an Immediate and Extraordinary Favour, which was only to be expected from God, and which an humble mind could not ſo much as ask of him.

Theſe Diſputes raiſed ſo much noiſe in *Rome*, that the *Inquiſition* took *Notice* of the whole matter: *Molinos* and his *Book*, and *F. Petrucci*'s *Treatiſes* and *Letters*, were brought under a ſecond and ſeverer Examination; and here the *Jeſuites* were conſidered as the Accuſers. It is true, one of the *Society*, as was formerly told, had approved *Molinos*'s Book; but they took care that he ſhould be no more ſeen at *Rome*: for he was ſent away, and it is not known whither, it is generally believed that he is ſhut up within *Four Walls*; but what truth ſoever may be in

that, he is no more visible, so careful are they to have all their *Order* speak the same Language; and if any speak in a different stile from the rest, they at least take care that he shall speak no more; yet in this *Examen* that was made, both *Molinos* and *Petrucci* justified themselves so well, that their Books were again approved, and the Answers which the *Jesuites* had writ, were censured as scandalous: and in this matter *Petrucci* behaved himself so signally well, that it raised not only the Credit of the Cause, but his own Reputation so much, that soon after he was made *Bishop* of *Iessi*. which was a new Declaration that the *Pope* made in their Favours: their *Books* were now more esteemed than ever, their Method was more followed, and the Novelty of it, the opposition made to it, by a *Society* that has rendred it self odious to all the World, and the new *Approbation* that was given to it after so vigorous an Accusation, did all contribute to raise the Credit and to encrease the numbers of the Party. *F. Petrucci's* behaviour in his *Bishoprick*, contributed to raise his Reputation still higher, so that his Enemies were willing to give him no more Disturbance; and indeed there was less occasion given for Censure by his *Writings*, than by *Molinos*'s little *Book*; whose succinctness made that some Passages were not so fully nor so cautiously expressed,

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but that there was room for making Exceptions to them: on the other hand, *Petrucci* was rather exceſſively tedious, ſo that he had ſo fully explained himſelf, that he very eaſily cleared ſome ſmall difficulties that were made upon ſome of his *Letters*: In ſhort, every body was that thought either ſincerely devout, or that at leaſt affected the Reputation of it, came to be reckoned among the *Quietiſts*: and if theſe perſons were obſerved to become more ſtrict in their *Lives*, more retired and ſerious in their mental *Devotions*, yet there appeared leſs *Zeal* in their whole deportment as to the exteriour parts of the *Religion* of that *Church*. They were not ſo aſſiduous at *Maſs*, nor ſo earneſt to procure *Maſſes* to be ſaid for their Friends: nor were they ſo frequently either at *Confeſſion* or in *Proceſſions*: ſo that the Trade of thoſe that live by theſe things was ſenſibly ſunk: and tho the new *Approbation* that was given to *Molinos's Book* by the *Inquiſition* ſtopt the Mouths of his Enemies, ſo that they could no more complain of it, yet they did not ceaſe to ſcatter about Surmiſes of all that ſort of men, as of a *Cabale*, that would have dangerous conſequences; they remembred the ſtory of the *Illuminated Men* of *Spain*, and ſaid, here was a Spawn of the ſame Sect: they inſinuated, that they had ill Deſigns, and profound Secrets among them; that theſe were in their

Hearts Enemies to the *Chriſtian Religion*: and that under a pretence of raiſing men to a moſt ſublime ſtrain of *Devotion*, they intended to wear out of their minds the ſenſe of the Death and Sacrifice of *Chriſt*, and of the other Myſteries of *Chriſtianity*: and becauſe *Molinos* was by his birth a *Spaniard*, it has been given out of late, that perhaps he was deſcended of a *Jewiſh* or *Mahometan* Race, and that he might carry in his Blood, or in his firſt Education, ſome ſeeds of thoſe *Religions*, which he has ſince cultivated, with no leſs Art than Zeal: yet this laſt Calumny has gained but little credit at *Rome*; tho it is ſaid, that an Order has been ſent to examine the Regiſters of the Baptiſm, in the place of his Birth, to ſee if his Name is to be found in it or not.

Thus he ſaw himſelf attacked with great vigour, and with an unrelenting Malice. He took as much care as was poſſible to prevent, or to ſhake off theſe Imputations; for he writ a Treatiſe of *frequent and daily Communion*, which was likewiſe approved by ſome of the moſt learned of the *Regulars* at *Rome*, among whom one is *Martinez* a *Jeſuite*, the Senior *Divinity Reader* in their Colledge at *Rome*. This was printed with his *Spiritual Guide*, in the year 1675. and in the *Preface* he proteſts, that he had not writ it with any deſign to engage himſelf into matters

ters of Controverſie, but that it was drawn from him, by the moſt earneſt Solicitations of ſome Zealous Perſons. In it he preſſed a *daily Communion*, by a vaſt number of Paſſages that he cited both out of the Ancient *Fathers*, and the *Schoolmen*; yet he qualified this and all his other directions in the matters of *Devotion* by that which he conſtantly repeats, which is the neceſſity of being conducted in all things by a *Spiritual Guide*: whether he intended to ſoften the averſion that the *Jeſuites* had to him, by refuting ſome parts of Mr. *Arnaud*'s famous Book of *Frequent Communion* or not, I cannot tell, but in this Diſcourſe he anſwers ſome of the Objections that Mr. *Arnaud* had made to *Frequent Communion*, and in particular, to that which he makes one main ground of reſtraining men from it, which was the obliging them to go thro with their Penitence and Mortifications, before they were admitted to the *Sacrament*; whereas *Molinos* makes the being free of *Mortal Sin*, the only neceſſary qualification. In this Diſcourſe one ſees more of a heated Eloquence, than of ſevere or ſolid Reaſoning: yet it preſſes the point of *daily Communion*, and of *an inward application of Soul to Jeſus Chriſt, and to his Death*, ſo vehemently, that it might have been hoped that this ſhould have put an end to thoſe Surmiſes, that had been thrown out to de-

fame him; as if he had deſigned to lay aſide the Humanity of our Saviour, by his way of *Devotion*: but there is no cure for Jealouſy; eſpecially when Malice and Intereſt are at bottom: ſo new matter was found for cenſure in this Diſcourſe. He had aſſerted, that there was no other Preparation neceſſary but to be free of *Mortal Sin*: ſo it was given out, that he intended to lay aſide *Confeſſion*: and tho he had adviſed the uſe of a *Spiritual Guide*, in this, as well as in all other things; yet the neceſſity of *Confeſſion* before *Communion*, was not expreſſed: ſo that by this people ſeemed to be ſet at Liberty from that Obligation: and it was ſaid, that what he adviſed with relation to a *Spiritual Guide*, lookt rather like the taking ſome general Directions and Council from ones *Prieſt*, than the coming alwayes to him as the *Miniſter* of the Sacrament of *Pennance* before every *Communion*; and to ſupport this Imputation, it was ſaid, that all of that *Cabale* had ſet down this for a Rule, by which they conducted their Penitents, that they might come to the Sacrament, when they found themſelves out of the ſtate of *Mortal ſin*, without going at every time to *Confeſſion*; but I will not inlarge further upon the matters of *Doctrine* or *Devotion*, in which you may think that I have dwelt too long, for a man of my Breeding and Profeſſion: and I ſhould think ſo

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my ſelf, if I were not confining my ſelf exactly to the *Memorials* and *Informations* that I received at *Rome*. You will ſee by the *Articles* objected to the *Quietiſts*, and cenſured by one of the *Inquiſition*, which I ſend you with this *Letter*, what are all the other points that are laid to their charge. Only I muſt advertiſe you of one thing, that thir Friends at *Rome* ſay, that a great many of theſe *Articles* are only the Calumnies of their Enemies, and that they are diſowned by them: but that they have faſtned theſe things on them, to render them odious, and to make them ſuffer with the leſs Pity: which is the putting in practiſe the ſame Maximes which we object to their Predeceſſors, who condemned the *Waldenſes* and *Albigenſes* of a great many Errors of which they alwayes proteſted themſelves Innocent: yet the Accuſing them of thoſe horrid Opinions and Practices, prevailed upon the Simplicity and Credulity of the Age, to animate them with all the Degrees of Rage againſt a Sect of men that were ſet forth as Monſters: the ſame Maximes and Politicks are ſtill imputed, and perhaps not without reaſon to that ſevere Court, which if you believe many has as little regard to Juſtice as it has to Mercy. Some have carried their Jealouſies ſo far againſt the *Quietiſts*, as to compare their Maxims to thoſe of *Socrates* his *School*, and

his *Followers* after his death, when they ſaw what his Freedom in ſpeaking openly againſt the eſtabliſht *Religion* had coſt him: they reſolved to comply with the received Cuſtoms in their exteriour, and not to communicate their *Philoſophy* to the Vulgar, nor even to their Diſciples, till they had prepared them well to it, by training them long in the precepts of *Vertue*, which they called the *Purgative State*: and when men were well tried and exerciſed in this, then they comunicated to them their ſublimer Secrets: the meaning of all which, was, in ſhort, that they would not diſcover their Opinions, in thoſe points that were contrary to the received *Religion*, and to the publick *Rites*, to any, but to thoſe of whom they were well aſſured, that they would not betray them: and therefore they ſatisfied themſelves with having true and juſt notions of things; but they practiſed outwardly as the Rabble did. They thought it was no great matter what Opinions were entertained by them, and that none but *men* of *Noble* and elevated Tempers deſerved that ſuch ſublime Truths ſhould be communicated to them, and that the herd of the *Vulgar* neither were worthy nor capable of Truth, which is too pure and too high a thing for ſuch mean and baſe minds. The Affinity of the matter makes me remember a converſation that I once had with one of the wittieſt

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Clergy-men of France, who is likewiſe eſteemed one of the *Learnedeſt Men* in it: He ſaid, *The World could not bear a Religion calculated only for* Philoſophers: *The people did not know what it was to think and to govern themſelves by the Impreſſions that abſtracted thoughts made on their minds: they muſt have outward things to ſtrike upon their Senſes and Imaginations, to amuſe, to terrify and to excite them: ſo* legends, *dreadful* ſtories *and a pompous* Worſhip *were neceſſary to make the Impreſſions of* Religion *go deep into ſuch courſe Souls: for a Lancet,* ſaid he, *can open a Vein, but an Axe muſt fell down a Tree*; ſo he concluded, *that the* Reformation *had reduced the* Chriſtian Religion *to ſuch ſevere terms, that among us it was only a* Religion *for* Philoſophers: *and ſince few were capable of that ſtrength of thought:* he concluded, *That if the* Church *of* Rome *had perhaps too much of this exteriour pomp, thoſe of the* Reformation *had ſtript it too much, and had not left enough of garniſhing, and of the Bells and Feathers for amuſing the rabble.* The ſpeculation ſeems pretty enough, if *Religion* were to be conſidered only as a contrivance of ours, to be fitted by us to the tempers and humours of *People*; and not as a Body of *Divine Truths*, that are conveyed to us from Heaven.

Thus was *Molinos*'s method cenſured or approved in *Rome*, according to the different Apprehenſions and Intereſts of thoſe that

made Reflections upon it. But the *Jesuites* finding they were not so omnipotent in this *Pontificate*, as they have been formerly, resolved to carry their point another *way*. I need not tell you how great an Ascendant *F. la Chaise* has gained over that *Monarch*, that has been so long the *terrour of Europe*: and how much all the *Order* is now in the Interests of *France*. The *Zeal* with which that King has been extirpating *Heresy*, Furnishes them with abundance of matter for high *Panegyricks*; since that which is the opinion of many will pass down to posterity, for the lasting reproach of a *Reign*, which in its former parts has seemed to approach even to *Augustus's* Glory, but has received in this a stain, which with Indifferent men passes for a blind, poor-sprited and furious *Bigottry*, and is represented by *Protestants* as a complication of as much Treachery and Cruelty as the World ever saw; yet among the *bigots* it is set forth as the brightest side of that Glorious *Reign*: and therefore it has been often cited by them with relation to the cold correspondence that is observed to be between the *Courts* of *Rome*, and that at *Versailles*, that nothing was more Incongruous, than to see the *Head of the Church* dispute so obstinatly with its *Eldest son* such a trifle, as the matter of the *Regale*, and that with so much eagerness; and that he shew'd so little regard to so great a *Monarch*, that seemed to sacrifice

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all his own *Intereſts* to thoſe of his *Religion*: It is believed, that the *Jeſuits* at *Rome*, propoſed the matter of *Molinos* to *F. la Chaiſe*, as a fit reproach to be made to the *Pope*, in that *King's* name, that whilſt he himſelf was Imploying all poſſible means to extirpate *Hereſy* out of his *Dominions*. The *Pope* was cheriſhing it in his own *Palace*: and that while the *Pope* pretended to ſuch an unyielding *Zeal* for the *Rights* of the *Church*, he was entertaining a perſon who was corrupting the *doctrine*, or at leaſt the *devotion*, of that *Body*, of which he had the honour to be the *Head*. But here I muſt add a thing which comes very uneaſily from me, and yet I cannot keep my word to you, of giving you a faithful account of all that I could learn of this matter at *Rome*, without mentioning it. I do not pretend to affirm it is true, for I only tell you what is believed at *Rome*, and not what I believe my ſelf, nor what I would have you to believe: for I know you have ſo high an eſteem of Cardinal *d'Eſtrees*, that you will not eaſily believe any thing that is to his Diſadvantage. It is then ſaid, that he being commanded by the *Orders* that were ſent him from the *Court* of *France*, to proſecute *Molinos* with all poſſible vigour, reſolved to ſacrifice his old *Friend*, and all that is ſacred in *Friendſhip*, to the Paſſion he has for His Maſters *Glory*; finding then that there was not matter enough for an Accuſation

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againſt *Molinos*, he reſolved to ſupply that defect himſelf; ſo that he, who was once as deep as any man alive in the whole Secret of this Affair, went and informed the *Inquiſition* of many particulars, for which tho there was no other evidence but his Teſtimony, yet that was ſufficient to raiſe a great ſtorm againſt *Molinos*: and upon this delation, *he* and a few other of his friends were put in the *Inquiſition*; but this was managed ſo ſecretly, that all that is pretended to be known concerning it, is, that upon a new Proſecution both *Molinos* and *Petrucci* were brought before the *Inquiſition* in 1684. *Petrucci* was ſoon abſolved, for there was ſo little objected to him, and he anſwered that with ſo much Jndgment and Temper, that he was quickly diſmiſſed; and tho *Molinos*'s matter was longer in agitation, yet it was generally expected that he ſhould have been acquitted. In Concluſion, a Correſpondence held by him all *Europe* over, was objected to him: but that could be no Crime, unleſs the matter of that Correſpondence was Criminal: ſome ſuſpitious papers were found in his Chamber, but as he himſelf explained them, nothing could be made out of them, till Cardinal *d'Eſtrées* delivered a *Letter* and a *Meſſage* from the *King* of *France* to the *Pope*, as was formerly mentioned: and that the *Cardinal* added, that he himſelf could prove againſt *Molinos*, more than was neceſſary

ceſſary to ſhew that he was guilty of *Hereſy*. The *Pope* ſaid not a word to this, but left the matter to the *Inquiſitors*: and the *Cardinal* went to them, and gave other ſenſes of thoſe doubtful Paſſages, that were in *Molinos's Books* and *Papers*, and pretended that he knew from himſelf, what his true Meaning in them was. The *Cardinal* owned, that he had lived with him in the Appearances of Friendſhip: but he ſaid, he had early ſmelled out an ill deſign in all that matter; that he ſaw of what dangerous conſequence it was like to be; but yet, that he might fully diſcover what was at the bottom of it, he confeſſed, he ſeemed to aſſent to ſeveral things, which he deteſted: and that by this means he ſaw into their ſecret, and knew all the ſteps they made, he ſtill cautiouſly obſerving all that paſt among them till it ſhould be neceſſary for him to diſcover and cruſh this Cabal. I need not tell you how ſeverely this is cenſured, by thoſe who believe it. I would rather hope, that it is not true, how poſitively ſoever it may be affirmed at *Rome*; but tho it is hard to reconcile ſuch a way of proceeding with the common rules of human Society and of Vertue, yet at *Rome* a *Zeal* for the *Faith*, and againſt *Hereſie*, ſuperſedes all the Bonds of *Mortality* or *Humanity*, which are only the common *Vertues* of *Heathens*.

In ſhort, what truth ſoever may be in this par-

particular, relating to the *Cardinal*, it is certain that *Molinos* was clapt up by the *Inquiſition* in *May* 1685. and ſo an end was put to all Diſcourſes relating to him: and in this ſilence the buſineſs of the *Quietiſts* was laid to ſleep, till the ninth of *February* 1687. that of a ſudden it broke out again in a much more ſurpriſing manner.

The Count *Veſpiniani* and his *Lady*, Don *Paulo Rocchi*, Confeſſor to the Prince *Borgheſe*, and ſome of his Family, with ſeveral others, in all 70 *perſons*, were clapt up. Among whom many were highly eſteemed both for their *Learning* & *Piety* The things laid to the charge of the *Churchmen* were their neglecting to ſay their *Breviary*; and for the reſt, they were accuſed for their going to *Communion* without a going at every time firſt to *Confeſſion*: and in a word, it was ſaid, that they neglected all the exteriour parts of their *Religion*, and gave themſelves up wholly to Solitude and *inward Prayer*. The Counteſs *Veſpiniani* made a great noiſe of this matter; for ſhe ſaid, ſhe had never revealed her *Method* of *Devotion* to any Mortal, but to her *Confeſſor*, and ſo it was not poſſible that it could come to their knowledge any other way, but by his betraying that *Secret*: And ſhe ſaid, it was time for people to give over going to *Confeſſion*, if *Prieſts* made this uſe of it, to diſcover thoſe who truſted their *ſecreteſt* Thoughts to them;

and

and therefore she said, that in all time coming she would make her *Confessions* only to God. This had got vent, and I heard it generally talked up and down *Rome*: so the *Inquisitors* thought it more fitting to dismiss *Her* and her *Husband*, than to give any occasion to lessen the credit of *Confession*; they were therefore let out of prison, but they were bound to appear whensoever they should be called upon. I cannot express to you, the Consternation that appeared both in *Rome* and in many other parts of *Italy*, when in *a months* time about 200 *persons* were put in the *Inquisition*: and that all of the sudden, a *Method* of *Devotion*, that had passed up and down *Italy* for the highest Elevation to which mortals could aspire, was found to be *Heretical*, and that the chief promoters of it were shut up in *prison*.

But the most surprising part of the whole story, was, that the *Pope* himself came to be suspected as a favourer of this new *Heresy*: So that on the 13th. of *February* some were deputed by the Court of the *Inquisition* to examine him, not in the quality of *Christs Vicar*, or *St. Peters Successor*, but in the single quality of *Benedict Odescalchi*: what passed in that Audience, was too great a Secret for me to be able to penetrate into it: but upon this there were many and strange Discourses up and down *Rome*: & while we *Hereticks* were upon that asking, where was the *Popes Infallibility*?

I remember a very pretty *Anſwer* that was made me. They ſaid, the *Popes Infallibility* did not flow from any thing that was Perſonal in him, but from the care that Chriſt had of his *Church*: for a *Pope*, ſaid one, may be a *Heretick* as he is a private man: but Chriſt, who ſaid to *St. Peter*, *feed my Sheep*, will certainly ſo order matters that the *Pope* ſhall never decree *Hereſy*, and by conſequence ſhall never give the flock *Poyſon* inſtead of the *Bread* of *Life*; while the *Popes Hereſy* was only a perſonal thing, it could have no other effect but to damn himſelf: but if he decreed *Hereſy*, this corrupted the whole *Church*: and ſince Chriſt had committed all the *flock* to the *Popes* care, it ought to be believed, that he would never ſuffer them to pronounce *Hereſy ex Cathedra*, as they call it. This had ſome colour in it, that was plauſible: but the ſhift of which another ſerved himſelf, ſeemed Intolerable. He ſaid, the *Pope* could never decree *Hereſy*: for which he argued thus: he muſt be a *Heretick* before he can decree it; and upon that he gave me many Authorities to prove, that in the minute that the *Pope* became a *Heretick*, he fell *ipſo facto* from his Dignity; and therefore he ſaid the *Pope* could not decree *Hereſy*; for he muſt have fallen from his *Chair*, and have forfeited his Anthority, before he could poſſibly do it; ſo that he was no more *Pope*. This lookt ſo like a Juggle of the *Schools*, that I confeſs it made

made no great Impreſſion on me. Imagine what a thing it would be, to ſee a *King* accuſed of *Treaſon* by one of his own *Courts*; and then you have fancied ſomewhat that comes near this attempt of the *Inquiſition's*: which being a *Court* authoriſed by the *Pope*, yet had the Boldneſs to examin himſelf; and it had certainly been an odd piece of News, if upon the *Popes* Anſwers, the *Inquiſition* had ſtained him with the Imputation of *Hereſy*, and had lodged him in the *Minerva*. Upon the diſcourſe to which this gave occaſion, I have heard the Authority of the *Court* of *Inquiſition* magnified to ſo Extravagant a degree, that ſome have aſſerted, it was in ſome reſpects *ſuperiour* even to the *Pope* himſelf. Two days after that, the *Inquiſition* ſent a Circular *Letter* to Card. *Cibo*, as the chief *Miniſter*, to be ſent by him all about *Italy*, of which I ſend you a Copy in *Italian*: for tho it ought to have been writ in *Latin*, yet I do not know how it came to be writ in *Italian*: for the writing it in the Vulgar language, was cenſured not only as an Indecent thing, but as that which made the matter more publick; it was addreſſed to all *Prelates*; and it warns them, that whereas many *Schols* and *Fraternities* were formed in ſeveral parts of *Italy*, in which ſome perſons under a pretence of leading people into the *Ways of the Spirit*, and to the prayer of *quietneſs*, they inſtilled in them many abo-

abominable *Hereſies*; therefore a ſtrict charge was given to diſſolve all theſe *Societies*: And to oblige all the *Spiritual Guides* to tread in the known Paths: And in particular, to take care, that none of that ſort ſhould be ſuffered to have the Direction of the *Nunneries*. Order was likewiſe given to proceed in the way of Juſtice againſt thoſe who ſhould be found guilty of theſe abominable *Errors*. After this a ſtrict enquiry was made into all the *Nunneries* of *Rome*; for moſt of their *Directors* and *Confeſſours* were found to be engaged into this new *Method*. It was found that the *Carmelites*, the *Nuns* of the *Conception*, of the *Paleſtrina*, and *Albano*, were wholly given up to *Prayer* and *Contemplation*, and that inſtead of their *Beads*, and their *Hours*, and the other Devotions to *Saints*, or *Images*, they were much alone, and oft in the Exerciſe of *Mental Prayer*: And when they were asked, why they had laid aſide the uſe of their *Beads*, and their antient *Forms*; their Anſwer was, that their *Directors* had adviſed them, to wean themſelves from theſe things, as being but Rude Beginnings, and Hindrances to their further progreſs: They juſtified alſo their Practice from thoſe *Books* that had been lately publiſhed by the approbation of the *Inquiſitors* themſelves, ſuch as *Molinos* and *Petrucci's* Books. When report was made of this matter to the *Inquiſition*, they ſent Orders to take out

out of the *Nuns* hands all thoſe *Books*, and ſuch Forms of *Devotion* as were written in that ſtrain; and they required them to return again to the uſe of their *Beads*, and their other abandoned *Forms*, which was no ſmall mortification to them. The Circular *Letter* produced no great effects; for moſt of the *Italian Biſhops* were either extreamly unconcerned in all thoſe matters, or were Inclined to *Molinos*'s *Method*: And whereas it was Intended, that this as well as all the other *Orders* that come from the *Inquiſition*, ſhould he kept ſecret, yet it goes abroad, and *Copies* of it were in all peoples hands, ſo that this gave the *Romans* the more occaſion to diſcourſe of theſe matters, which troubled the *Inquiſitors* extreamly, who love not to have the World look into their Proceedings, nor to deſcant upon them: They blamed Card. *Cibo*, as if this matter was grown ſo publick by his means: but he on the other hand blamed the *Inquiſitors* for it, and his *Secretary* blamed both. It was alſo ſaid, that the *Pope* was not pleaſed with Card. *Cibo*'s conduct, and that he thought he had ſuffered this matter to go too far, without giving a check to the *Inquiſitors*, when it might have been more eaſily done; whereas now matters are gone to that height, that many think they cannot end without ſome very great Scandal. For the *Quality* of the *Priſoners* is conſiderable;

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ſome of Cardinal *Petrucci's Domeſticks*, and both his *Secretary* and his *Nephew* were of the Number; and tho the *Cardinal* himſelf came to *Rome* ſoon after, yet he was there for ſome time *Incognito*. It is generally believed, that both he and the Cardinal *Caraffa*, and Cardinal *Ciceri*, who is Biſhop of *Como*, are in great apprehenſions of a ſtorm from the *Inquiſition*: And the Ceremony of giving them their *Hats* being ſo long delayed, was generally aſcribed to ſome complaints that it ſeems the *Inquiſitors* made; yet in Concluſion they appeared in *Publick*, and had there *Hats* given them. The Duke of *Ceri*, *Don Livio*, that is the *Popes Nephew*, is believed to be deeply engaged in the matter: for the Count *Veſpiniani*, who was firſt ſeiſed on, is his particular Friend and Favourite: And is a ſort of a Domeſtick of his. *Don Livio* himſelf is likewiſe a perſon of a Melancholy Temper, that is much retired; and this at preſent is enough to make a man paſs there for a *Quietiſt*. He went from *Rome* to a Houſe he has not far from *Civitavecchia*, to avoid, as was thought, the falling into the hands of the *Inquiſitors*. The *Pope* writ oft for him, before he could prevail with him to return; and it was ſaid, that he did not think himſelf ſecure even after all the Aſſurances that the *Pope* gave him, that no harm ſhould come to him; for it might be juſtly enough

enough apprehended, that the *Inquiſitors*, who had been ſo hardy as to examine the *Pope*, would make no Ceremony with his *Nephew*, if they found matter againſt him.

But amongſt all that were clapt up, Father *Appiani* was the man that ſurpriſed the *Romans* the moſt: he was ſeiſed on the firſt Sunday of *April*; he was eſteemed the learnedeſt and Eminenteſt *Jeſuite* that was in the whole *Roman Colledge*. This did not a little mortifie the *Society*; one of their *Fathers* had approved of *Molinos*'s Book, and now another was found to be engaged in this matter: upon which a *Prieſt*, that was indeed no Friend to their Order, ſaid to me, *that this was their true Genius, to have men among them of all ſides*; that ſo which ſide ſoever prevailed, they might have ſome among them, that ſhould have a conſiderable ſhare in the Honour of the Victorious. And thus if *Molinos*'s Method had been eſtabliſhed, then they would have gloried as much in *Eſparza* and *Appiani*, as they are now aſhamed of them. It is likely that they had not diſcovered *Appiani*'s favouring the party, otherwiſe no doubt they had been before-hand with the *Inquiſition*, and had ſhut him up as they did *Eſparza*; and ſo have covered themſelves from the reproach of having a man that favoured *Hereſy* among them. But the Confidence of that *Society* is an Original, and ſince

I have this occaſion to mention them, I will here digreſs a little from the buſineſs of *Quietiſm*, to give you account of ſome of their Practices at *Rome*, with relation to *Engliſh Affairs*, with which I was made acquainted during my ſtay there.

There is a *Jeſuit* belonging to the *Engliſh* Houſe, F. *Cann*, well known in *England*, by ſome of his *Writings*, and in particular by one againſt the *Oath of Allegeance*, in which he pleads for the *Popes* Power of depoſing *Princes*; it ſeems he was ſorry to ſee that the Diſcourſe which he had writ againſt the taking that *Oath*, had no better effect, and that the *Papiſts* generally took it: ſo he reſolved to carry this matter further, therefore tho he had no other Character but that of a *Father* of the *Society*, he propoſed at *Rome*, that a formal *Oath*, abjuring the *Oath of Allegeance*, ſhould be taken by all who had taken the other; and that for all that ſhould be received to be *Students* in that Houſe, in all time coming, they ſhould be bound by an *Oath* never to ſwear the *Oath of Allegeance* Since he ſaid, a time might come, in which it ſhould be neceſſary for their Intereſts, that they ſhould be under no ſuch tie to a *Heretical Prince*: But becauſe it was not ſafe for them to enjoyn any new *Oath*, without an order from the *Court* of the *Rota*, according to the Forms there, it was neceſſary to preſent

ſent a *Memorial* for this: And that ought to come from the *Protector of the Nation concerned:* So he ought to have addreſſed himſelf to Cardinal *Howard*; but the *Cardinal*'s temper, and his principles, with relation to Civil Obedience, were ſo well known, that F. *Cann* thought to carry the buſineſs without his having any ſhare in it. Yet he found himſelf miſtaken; for the *Judges* of the *Rota* were ſurpriſed at the Propoſition, and gave notice of it to the *Pope*, who lookt upon it as a thing of very bad conſequence: And askt Cardinal *Howard*, if it had been ſet on by any direction from him; for it ſeems his Name was made uſe of, tho without his knowledge. The *Cardinal* was ſurpriſed at it, and highly reſented the Impudence of F. *Cann*: He ſent a Complaint of it to the *General* of the *Society*, who, to give the *Cardinal* ſome content, gave *Cann* a Reprimand, and ſent him out of *Rome*: But the *Jeſuites* carry a Grudge in their Hearts to the *Cardinal* for this, and other things: And this appeared very viſibly during the E. of *C.* Embaſſay: For tho he lodged for ſome time in the *Cardinal*'s *Palace*, yet he gave himſelf up ſo intirely to the Conduct of the *Jeſuites*, that the *Cardinal* was quite ſhut out of the Councils: And while Fa. *Morgan* came at all hours to the *Ambaſſadour*, even in his night Gown and Slippers, which was thought

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an unuſual thing at *Rome*, where publick perſons live in an exactneſs of Ceremony: Once the *Cardinal* was made to wait in the Antichamber, while the *Father* was within entertaining the *Ambaſſadour* in this lazy dreſs, who coming out in it, the *Cardinal* was ſo provoked at this Indignity, that was done him, and at the *Jeſuites* Inſolence, that he threatned to fling him down ſtairs, if he ever preſumed to come within his Houſe again in that Habit: and indeed, a *Cardinal* makes ſo great a figure in *Rome*, that ſuch an uſage of him was thought a little Extraordinary, but the *Cardinal* is of ſo mild a temper, and the *Jeſuites* are ſo violent, as to be reckoned the *Horns of the Beaſt*.

But I will now return to the *Quietiſts*, from whom, the particular regard that I bear to the Order of the *Jeſuites*, has diverted me ſo long. The *Priſons* of the *Holy Office* were full, and the Terrour of this matter had ſtruck ſo many, that no body could gueſs when or where it ſhould ſtop. It is ſaid, that the *Inquiſitours* have found in ſome of their Examinations, that they have to do with men that are learneder than themſelves: and that their Priſoners are ſteady and reſolute. It is alſo ſaid, that their Friends abroad have expreſſed a great concern for them, and for the

the cauſe of their Sufferings, and that many Letters have been writ to the *Inquiſitors*, wiſhing them to conſider well what they do to their Priſoners; and aſſuring them, that they will maintain their Intereſts, and that they are ready to ſeal them with their Blood. It is certain, the *Pope* and Cardinal *Cibo* are much troubled, to ſee that this matter is gone ſo far, and is now ſo much talked of. Cardinal *Petrucci* is ſtill much in the *Popes* favour, and was ſuffered not long ago to go viſit *Molinos*, with whom he had a long converſation all alone, but the ſubject and the effects of it are not known: yet a ſevere Sentence is expected againſt *Molinos*. Thoſe that ſpeak the mildeſt, think he will be a Priſoner for life: but a little time will ſhew more than I can preſume to tell you. It is a terrible thing to have the whole body of the *Regulars* againſt one, who according to the eſtimate that is made at *Rome*, are about 500000 Perſons, and of that number it is ſaid the *Jeſuites* make 40000. In the City of *Naples* alone it is believed the *Regulars* and other Eccleſiaſticks amount to 25000. ſo it is very likely, that when ſuch Bodies, and *Molinos* are in the ballance, *Cajaphas*'s Reſolution may once more take place: *It is expedient that one Man ſhould die, rather than that thoſe Nations of Regulars ſhould periſh*, or their Trade and Profits be leſsned. But to come to an end,

the *Inquiſitors* have prepared the world for any Judgments that they may paſs in this matter, by ordering one of their number, to draw up a Cenſure of 19 Articles, which he pretends to have collected out of the *Writings* and *Doctrines* of the *Quietiſts*, and thus by repreſenting them ſo odiouſly, they have as much as in them lies, prevented thoſe Compaſſions which may perhaps be kindled by the ſufferings of thoſe whom they may condemn as guilty of thoſe cenſured Opinions. I have now given you all the Informations that I could pick up of this màtter, with all poſſible ſincerity; for I have repreſented this buſineſs to you, juſt as it was ſet before my ſelf, without making any Additions to it, or interpoſing my poor judgment in ſuch a matter, which I leave to you, and to ſuch as you are. I conclude, referring you for a further light into this Affair to the Cenſure of the *Inquiſitors*, which I procured in *Italian*, for tho probably it is written Originally in *Latin*, yet I could not get a Copy of the *Latin* Cenſure, and ſo was forced to content my ſelf with this that follows. It appears by it how low the ſtudy both of *Divinity* and of the *Scriptures* is ſunk at *Rome*: ſome few ſtrictures will be found on the Margin of the *Engliſh Tranſlation* of this *Cenſure*, which I have added, becauſe ſome perhaps may deſire to ſee this, who do not underſtand *Italian*.

THE

THE CIRCULAR LETTER,

That was ſent about *Italy*, by the Order of the *Inquiſition*.

Em^no e R^mo Sig. mio Oſſ^mo

ESſendo venuto à notitia di queſta Sacra Congregatione, che in diverſi luoghi d'Italia ſi vadino poco à poco erigendo, e forſe anche ſi ſiano erette certe Scuole ò Companie, Fratellanze, ò Radunanze, ó con altro nomi, ò nelle Chieſe, ò nelli Oratorii, ò in Caſe private à titolo di Conferenze Spirituali, ó ſiano di ſole Donne, ó di ſoli Huomini, ò miſti, nelle quelli alcuni direttori Spirituali ineſperti della vera via dello Spirito calcata da Santi, e forſe anche malitioſi ſotto titolo d'inſtradare l'anime per l'Oratione, che chiamano la la Quiete, ò di pura Fede interna, ó con altri nome, benche dal principio appariſca, che perſuadino maſſime d'iſquiſita perfettione, ad ogni modo da certi principii mal' inteſi, e peggio pratticati vanno inſenſibilmente inſtillando nella mente de ſemplici diverſi graviſſimi errori, che poi abortiſcono anco in aperte Ereſie, & abominevoli laidezze con diſcapito irreparabile di quelle anime, che per ſolo zelo di ben ſervire à Dio ſi mettono in mano di ſimplice Direttori, come pur troppo è noto eſſer ſequito in qualche luogho. Hannò perciò queſti miei Em. Signori Colleghi Generali Inquiſitori ſtimato opportuno di ſignificare à V. E.

con la preſente che ſi fà circolare à tutti gll Ordinarii d'italia; acciò ſi compiaccia d'invigilare ſopra qualſivoglia nuove adunanze ſimili diverſe dalle già prattiçate & approvate de luoghi Cattolici, e trovandone de tali onninamente, le aboliſca; ne permetta in avenire che in modo alcuno ne vengano inſtituite, & inſiſta, che i Direttori Spirituali caminino la ſtrada battuta della perfettione Chriſtiana, ſenza affettare ſingolarità di vie di Spirito, con avvertire ſopra tutto, che neſſuna perſona ſoſpetta di novità ſimili s'ingeriſca à diriggere ne in voce, ne in ſcritto le monache, acciò che non entri ne' Monaſterii quella peſte, che pur troppo potrebbe contaminare la ſpiritual intentione di queſte Spoſe del Signore. Il che tutto ſi rimette alla prudenza dell' E. V. con che però non s'intenda con quelle proviſionali, che ella ſarà per fare precluſa la via di procedere, anchè per via di giuſtitia: quando ſi ſcopriſſero in qualche perſona tali errori non eſcuſabili. In tanto ſi và quì digerendo la materia, per poter à ſuo tempo auvertire il Chriſtianeſimo degli errori da evitarſi. E. le Bacio, 15. Febrari, 1687.

THE CIRCULAR LETTER,

Put in *Engliſh.*

Moſt Eminent, or *Moſt Reverend Lord*:

THIS Holy *Congregation*, having received Advertiſement, that there are ſome in

in divers places of *Italy*, that by little and little are erecting, or perhaps that have already erected, ſome *Schools*, *Companies*, *Fraternities*, or *Aſſemblies*, under ſome other Denomination, either in *Churches*, *Chappels*, or in private *Houſes*, under the pretence of *Spiritual Conferences*; and theſe conſiſting either only of Women, or only of Men, or of both Sexes together, in which ſome *Spiritual Guides*, that are unacquainted with the true *way of the Spirit*, in which the Saints have trod, and that are perhaps men of ill deſigns, do under the pretence of leading Souls by the *Prayer of Quietneſs*, as they call it, or of *Pure Inward Faith*, or under any other name, in which tho in the beginning that they carry men, by Maxims that are of the higheſt perfection, yet at laſt they by certain principles, that are ill underſtood, and worſe practiſed, do inſenſibly infuſe into the minds of the ſimple, divers grievous *Errors* that do break out into open *Hereſy*, and to abominable Practices, to the irreparable prejudice of thoſe Souls, who out of their ſingle Zeal to ſerve God well, puts themſelves in the hands of ſuch ſimple *Directors*, which is too notoriouſly known to have fallen out in ſome places. In conſideration of all this, my moſt Eminent *Lords* and *Colleagues*, the *Inquiſitors General*, have thought fit to ſignify this to you, by this Circular *Letter*, which is ſent to all the *Or-*

dinaries of *Italy*, that ſo you may be pleaſed, to watch over all ſuch new Aſſemblies, that are different from thoſe that are practiſed and approved in other *Catholick* places: and that where you find any ſuch, you aboliſh them entirely, and ſuffer them not to be any further advanced; and that you take care that *Spiritual Directors* ſhall tread in the *beaten Paths of Chriſtian Perfection*, without affecting any Singularity in the *Ways of the Spirit*: and that above all other things, you take care, that no perſon ſuſpected of theſe Novelties, by ſuffered to thruſt himſelf into the direction of *Nunneries*, either by Word or Writing: that ſo this Peſt may not enter within thoſe Houſes; which may too much corrupt the Spiritual Intention of thoſe *Spouſes* of *Chriſt*. All this is referred to your prudence: but with all this proviſional care, it is not to be underſtood as if hereby the proceedings in the way of Juſtice, were to be hindred, in caſe any perſons are found to hold inexcuſable Errors. In the mean while, care is taken ſo to digeſt this matter, that *Chriſtendom* may be in due time advertiſed of thoſe Errors that are to be avoided.

Rome the 15. of *February*, 1687.

THE

THE CENSURE OF THE *Opinions* of the *Quietists*, Prepared for the *Inquisition.*

Errori principali di quelli, che esercitano l'Oratione di Quiete, *co' le Risposte.*

1. LA Contemplatione, o vero Oratione di Quiete consiste in constituirsi alla presenza di Dio, con un atto di Fede oscura, pura, & amorosa, e dipoi senza passar più avanti, e senza ammettere discorso, specie, ò pensiero alcuno, starsene cosi otioso; par esser contrario alla riverenza dovuta à Dio il replicare quel purissimo atto, il quale però è di tanto merito, e vigore, che contiene in se, anzi supera con gran vantaggio tutti insieme li meriti delle altre virtù, e persevera tutt' il tempo della vita, mentre non si ritratti con un atto contrario: Onde non è necessario reiterarlo, e replicarlo.

CENSURA e RISPOSTA.

Niun' atto di Fede ci constituisse presenti à Dio, il quale è dentro à noi per indispensabile necessità

della ſua Immenſità, e però ſpeſſo dicevano Elia, Michea, & altri Profeti: *Vivit Deus in cujus conſpectu ſto.* E con Agoſtino dicono i Teologi: *In Deo vivimus, movemur, & ſumus.* Dunque l'atto di Fede, perche ſuppone l'eſſere della Creatura, ſuppone queſta già prima nella preſenza di Dio, e ſolamente ſará raſſegnatione di Spirito nelle braccie della Divinitá. Intorno à queſta all' hora ſará contemplatione, quando l'Anima contemplarà, e non ſarà otioſa, doppo il primo atto di Fede oſcura, pura, & amoroſa. E poi falſità evidente il dire, che non ſono neceſſarii altri buoni atti. L'Atto buono, per eſſer finito, è migliorabile, per mezzo della continuatione di ſimili atti. Me' la moltiplicatione di atti virtuoſi e' contrario alla riverenza dovuta à Dio, perche Iddio non ſi tedia, ò impediſce, eſſendo libero da' ogni paſſione, & in tanto non conviene replicare atti riverentiali a' Maggiori del Mondo, in quanto, che queſti, ſecondo che porta l'eſperienza, ſono alterabili, impedibili, ó tediabili della viſta di ſimili atti frequentati. L'atto dunque in ſe ſteſſo buono, moltiplicato ſarà un buono maggiore, e però da' Dio approvato, a più rumunerabile, che un' atto ſolo. Nella Contemplatione poi ſi ſtà in atto di operare, e non oſtinatamente ſopra l'attopaſſato, eſſendo il Contemplare l'operare mentalmente, ancorche altro anco vi ſi richieda.

II. Senza la Contemplatione, per mezze della meditatione non può darſi un paſſo nella Perfettione.

R. Per meditarſi dal Chriſtiano preciſamente la Paſſione di Chriſto, ſi riflette, che per amor dell' Huomo tanto pati un Dio, unde può riſolvarſi à riamarlo, e volerlo obedire in che commanda, e metere in prattica (con la gratia di Dio, che ſempre è n Noi) tal ſanta deliberatione. Dunque permezzo ella Meditatione può bene incaminarſi l'Anima alla t

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perfettione. Anni ſenza contemplare, e ſenza meditare, purche s'opri ſecondo li Leggi, con l'ajuto d Dio ſi puo ogn' uno ſalvare; non ſi ſalva poi chi non è perfetto, & Amico di Dio. Dunque è falſiſſim l'opinione contenuta nel ſecondo Capo.

III. La Scienza, e Dottrina anche Teoligica, e Sacra, è d'impedimento, e repugnanza alla Contemplatione, della quale non poſſono dar giuditio gli Huomini Dotti, mà ſolo li Meditativi, e Contemplativi.

R. La Dottrina Teologica notifica ſtabili in noi l'Oggetto della Contemplatione, che dicono i Quietiſti eſſer la Divina Eſſenza. Dunque in noi è compinibile con la Contemplatione, alla quale ſe la Teologia repugnaſſe l'iſteſſo ſarebbe eſſer Contemplativo, e nulla ſaper d'Iddio Teologalmente, e coſi Agoſtino, e gli altri Santi Dottori, e Luminari della Chieſa, perche erano ſcientifici, ſi doverebbero incapaci eſſer ſtati della Contemplatione. Il che è falſo, imperoche Dio, che inſtituti il Sacerdotio, come Miniſtero il più degno, non v'è ragione, che habbia voluto i Sacerdoti, ma' che non foſſero Contemplativi, già che volſe col Sacerdotio unita la Scienza, mentre nella Sacra Scrittura minaccio per Oſea Profetta à chi diſprezzatore della Scienza eſercitava il Sacerdotio. *Tu repuliſti ſcientiam, & ego repellam te, ne Sacerdotio fungaris mihi.* E tralaſcio altre Scritture, e raggioni, perche mi viene incaricata la breuità. In quanto poi al che ſi dice in queſto 3. cap. che della Contemplatione non poſſono dar giuditio li Dotti, ſi vede apertamente, che l'ignoranza di queſti ſpiritelli ſenza Intelligenza ha una temerità di non volar ſoggiacere all' emenda, per mezzo dell' infallibile ſentimento de' Scientifici.

IV. Non può darſi perfetta Contemplatione, ſe non circa la ſola Divinità. I Miſteri dell' Incarna-

tione, Vita, e Paſſione del noſtro Salvatore non ſono oggetto di Contemplatione, anzi l'impediſcono, onde devono dà Contemplativi tenerſi lontani; ò ſolo conſiderarſi ſpregiatamente.

R. Se la Contemplatione è un affettione dell' Intelletto, e della Volontà con l'Ogetto, mediante la gratia di Dio, in un raccoglimento di Spirito, potrà la vita di Chriſto contemplarſi, perche à quella il Chriſtiano può farſi preſente in Spirito, & affettive con atto di Fede, & Amore. Aggiongo che ſe Chriſto venne à piantar Paradiſi in terra per commiſſione dell' Eterno Patre, come diſſe il Profeta Iſai, *Poſui verbum meum in ore tuo, ut plantos Cœlos, & fundes terram.* Dove la Parafraſe Caldea coſi legge: *Ut plantes Cœlos in terra*: Come dire (ſi come l'inteſe Girolamo) che piantaſſe le contentezze negli Huomini diſgratiati per il peccato originale: E ſe i Contemplationi ſi portano ſopra ſe ſteſſi alla Conſolationi Divine nella loro Contemplativi, perche ſi deve diſprezzare, e tener lontano Chriſto, che è l'immediato Datore? Chriſto non impediſce l'atto del Contemplatione ſe venne à compartirci perfettioni, e contenti ſpirituali, che ſono il fine de' Contemplativi.

V. Le Penitenze corporali, l'auſterità della vita non convengono alli Contemplativi, anzi meglio ſi comincia la converſione dalla vita contemplativa, che dalla Purgativa, e dalle Penitenze. Ancora gli effetti della Divotione ſenſibile, la tenerezza del Cuore, le Lagrime, e Conſolationi ſpirituali ſi devono fuggire, anzi diſpreggiare da' Contemplativi, come coſe repugnanti alla Contemplatione.

R. Le Mortificatione diſpongono lo Spirito, acciò viva ſopra le motioni del ſenſo, e perciò tuttii ſanti cominciarrono à viaggiare verſo la Perfettione con

con discipline, Digiuni, &c. Dunque se i Contemplativi hanno per fine anco la perfettione, ben li convengono le Penitenze, perche più spedito si renda alla Contemplatione, chi più tiene domate le alterationi del senso. E se Dio promette nelle Scritture pardonar al Peccatore piante, che saranno dà lui le colpe, mà in nessun luogo del vecchio, ò nuovo Testamento, per esserſi posto nella Contemplatione. Dunque meglio si comincia la conversione dalla vita purgativa, e dalle Penitenze, che dalla contemplatione.

VI. La vera Contemplatione deve fermarsi nella pura Essenza d'Iddio, spogliata delle Persone, e degli Attributi, e l'Atto di Fede di Dio cosi concepito, è più perfetto, e meritorio di quello, che riguarda Dio con le persone, & Attributi.

R. Le Persone Divine, e egli adorabili Attributi di Dio hanno la reggione formale d'esse Oggetti di Fede, e d'Amore nel racoglimento delle nostre potenze, e nella rassegnatione dello Spirito, perche sono verità revelate, e come Predicati Divini suoni buoni in se stessi, & alle Creature. Donde può darsene vera contemplatione. Che poi l'atto di Fede di Dio senza le Persone, & Attributi concepito sia più perfetto, e meritorio di quello, che riguarda Dio con le Persone, & attributi è falsità. Perche se già il credere che Dio sia Trino, e sia giusto è atto di fede perfetto, e meritorio, e credere Dio vero nell' Essenza anco è atto meritorio e perfetto, sarà l'atto con cui si crede Dio vero erino, e giusto, più perfetto, e meritorio d'un altro atto, con cui solamente, si crede uno nell' Essenza, perche si merita più per due atti dell' istessa virtu, che per un solo di questi. (Hevendoci Dio communicate le virtù supranaturali non per far un atto solo virtuoso, mà per avanzarsi col' esercitio

di

di tali doni) Un' atto di fede, che equivale à due è più meritorio, e perfetto di un ſolo atto delli due: onde ben ſi conclude contra la prima propoſitione di queſto 6. Cap. che la vera, e perfetta contemplatione per eſſere migliore deve fermarſi nella pura Eſſenza di Dio, mà queſta nella Perſone, e negli Attributi.

VII. Nella Contemplatione s'uniſce l'Anima immediatamente con Dio, onde non vi ſi richiede Fantaſmi, ò Imagini, ò ſpecie di ſorte alcuna.

R. Nella Contemplatione ancorche in un certo modo s'uniſca l'Anima immediatamente con Dio, cio è effettive, perche vi concorre l'intelletto a mirar Dio ſemplicemente, però ſi richiede qualche ſpecie per ſollicitare l'intellettuale habilità naturale à portarſi nella conſideratione di Dio, ſervendo la ſpecie per oggetto mottivo all' Intelletto.

VIII. Tutti i Contemplativi nell' atto della Contemplatione patiſcono pene, & angoſcie ſi gravi, che pareggiano, anzi ſuperano, li tormenti dell' iſteſſi Martiri.

R. Se (come dicono i Quietiſti nel primo capo) la Contemplatione conſiſte nel farſi preſente à Dio con un atto di Fede amoroſa, e poi ſtarſene in otio, non è formalmente eſſere tormentato, e patire pene più delli Martiri. E. quantunque ad alcuno ſpeſſo ſucceda nella Contempletione angoſcie, e dolori, ciò proviene da' altra cauſa ò dal Demonio, permettendolo Dio, ò da' fiachezza di nattura, che conſuma il Corpo, ò da' motivi di Malenconia, ò da' ſoverchio ſangue, che ſormontato alla teſta caggiona dolore. Mà moltiſſimi altri ſi ſono viſti nell' atto della Contemplatione, circondati di luce con fronte ſerena, e bocca ridente, come Franceſco di Paola fù oſſervato dà Luiggi XI. Ré di Francia, e finita la Contemplatione

tione restar tutti inondati di allegrezza, perche in quella vennero à vista (semplicemente ben si) li sposi, per restar concertato il Matrimonio frà Dio e l'Anima.

IX. Nel Sagrificio della Messa, e nelle Feste de' Santi, è meglio applicarsi all' atto di pura fede, e Contemplatione, che alli Misteri di esso Sacrificio, ò à considerare le attioni, e le cose aptenenti alli medesimi Santi.

R. Vive ingannato chi giudica entrare nella Contemplatione senza buona dispositione dell' Anima; e perche la consideratione delli Misteri della Messa, e dell' esempio de' Santi è preparamento spirituale, ancorche remoto, perciò stimarsi deve meglio, primar applicarsi il Christiano alla consideratione de i Misteri della Messa, e delle attioni de' Santi, e poscia darsi alla Contemplatione con più Adobbo nell' Anima.

X. La Lettione spirituale de' lebri, le Prediche, l'Orationi vocali, l'Invocationi de' Senti, e cose simili, sono d'impedimento alla Contemplatione, overo Oratione di Quiete, alla quale non si deve premettere preparatione alcuna.

R. Se in ogni professione, e' maggiormente in quella della vera, e non fintionata spiritualita: *Nemo repente fit summus*, come l'esperienza dimostra, perche è ordine della nostra fiacca natura, co' cui si và accommodando la gratia per il nostro camino all' ultimo termine dell' Eternità, che à *facilioribus fit indipiendum*, che perciò è grand' ignoranza, e presontione entrare nell' Oratione di Quiete, prima d'altri esercitii, e senza preparatione. Chi cosi entra, uscirà ancora senz' alcun profitto.

XI. Il Sacramento della Penitenza, avanti la Communione non è per l'Anime interiori, e contemplative, mà per l'esteriori, e meditative.

R. I

R. I contemplativi hanno ſolamente un' Anima che è può meditare, e può contemplare, & anco può ſtar in peccato. Dunque il Sacramento della Penitenza prima della S. Communione, è neceſſario all' Anime contemplative.

XII. La Meditatione non riguarda Dio col lume della Fede, mà con il lume naturale in Spirito e verità, e però non hà merito appreſſo Dio.

R. Se la meditatione non foſſe meritoria appreſſo Dio, (*ſaltem aliqualiter de congruo*) no' ſarebbe coſi famigliare alle Religioni, dove furono, e ſono grand' Huomini ſanali della S. C. R. ne ſarebbe incaricata da' SS. Patriarchi, e da' Sommi Pontifici rimunerata con Indulgenze plenarie, come eſercitio ſpirituale, proportionato alli Amici di Dio, & à quelli, che abandonano de fallacie del mondo. Di Dio, come ſi può conoſcere l'eſiſtenza col lume naturale, e con la fede ſopranaturale, coſi può darſi Meditatione che lo riguardi naturalmente, e Meditatione che lo riguardi con fede pura, e ſopranaturale.

XIII. L'Imagini non ſolo interne, e mentali, mà anco l'eſterne ſolite venerarſi da' fedeli, come ſono quelle di Chriſto, e de' ſuoi Santi, ſono dannoſe a' Contemplativi, onde devono fuggirſi, e toglier via, acciò impediſcano la Contemplatione.

R. Quanto decretò, e decretarà la S. Madre Chieſa, à cui preſiede Direttore lo Spirito Santo tutto giovevole all' Vaſſallaggio di Chriſto; però ſe a' Fideli la Chieſa ordina l'adorationi delle SS. Immagini, non devono queſte ſfuggirſi, ò toglier via, come nocive alla Contemplatione: nulladimeno alcuni ſguardi alla ſfuggita verſo detto Immagini non ſono valevoli à far pardere la Contemplatione, overo Oratione de Quiete al Contemplative

plativo, quale se in ogni caso la perde, proviene dalla sua troppa imbecillità, e per altro poi e più ampia l'Anima raggionevole; e maggine la gratia, che l'assiste di quello che suppone queste 13. Cap. Anzi la moderata consideratione di dette Imagini serve à formar nell' Anima l'interno racoglimento, perche il contemplativo si faccia regolare dalla Gratia.

XIV. Chi una volta si è applicato alla Contemplatione non deve piu ritornare alla Meditatione, perche sarebbe un passare dal meglio al peggio.

R. E vero che è cosa mala passare dal meglio al peggio, mà spesso conviene non possedendo attualmente il meglio incaminarsi à posseder il buono. E vero ancora, che essendo pontualmente nella Contemplatione, non si deve lacciar questa à fine di mettarsi nella Meditatione. Ancorche la Contemplatione sia migliore, non ritrovandosi il Christiano attualmente nella Contemplatione, non opera inconvenientemente applicandosi à meditare, perche conviene, che per ogni via, che Dio si può mirare dall' Anima, sia da questa reverentemente esse quiata.

XV. Se nel tempo della Contemplatione vengono pensieri brutti, & osceni, non si deve uzar diligenza alcuna in scacicarli, no' riccorrer ad alcu uno buon pensiero, mà compiacersi di essere da' quelli molestato.

R. Per non perdersi l'unione effettiva con Dio, che nella formale contemplatione si trova, è atto di prudenza toglier via l'occasione, come è atto di scioperaggine il trattenersi con compiacenza, perche come dice S. Tomaso d'Aquino, *qui vult causam, ex qua necessariò, vel regulariter sequitur affectus, vult virtualiter effectum*, E lo Spirito Santo. *Qui amat periculum*

culum peribit in illo. Dunque ſentendo in noi la rebellione del ſenſo nella Contemplatione, ancorche fidati in noi ſteſſi, dobbiamo uſar ogni diligenza per ſuperarla. Dovemo però raccommandarci alla Divinità, e chieder la ſua gratia, per tranquillare i máli penſieri, diffondere le ſue gioie nell' Anima, incalmare i ſenſi alterati, *& ut ſint aſpera in vias planas.*

XVI. Niun' atto ò affetto noſtro interno, benche formato per mezzo della fede, e puro, ne piace a' Dio, perche naſce dall' Amor proprio, mentre non vi ſia infuſo dallo Spirito Santo, ſenſa noſtra induſtria, e diligenza alcuna, onde quelli, che ſtanno nella Contemplatione ò in oratione d'affetti, devono ſtare otioſi, ò aſpettando l'influſſo dello Spirito Santo.

R. A Dio ſolamente piacciono i ſuoi Doni, mà tutte quelle noſtre Operationi, che da' Noi ſi fanno con la ſua Santa Gratia. Quindi tanto pier, profetta ſara' la Contemplatione, quanto meno ſara otioſa, purche il Contemplatore non ſi laſci da' qualche ſenſibile tranſportare, preche perderia la Contemplatione, e gli ſuccederabbe come alla Moglie di Loth, che per mirar indietro perſe il Camino. E poi temerità aſpettare in otioſità l'influſſo miracoſa' dallo Spirito Santo, perche a' quei, che ſono nell' Oratione di Quiete non ſi deve il camino paſſivo, mentre non hanno condegnità ſopra i doni della Spirito Santo. Benſi ſuccede alle volte che lo Spirito penetri l'Anima di chi ſtà nell' Oratione d'affetti, mà per gratia particolare. Aggiongo contro la prima propoſitione di queſto 16. capo. Li Quietiſti dicono nel 12. capo che la Meditatione non hà merito appreſſo Dio, perche non lo riguarda col lume della fede, dunque l'atto formato per mezzo della fede hà merito appreſſo Dio, dunque è puro, e gli piace.

XVII.

XVII. Quelli che ſtanno nell' atto della Contemplatione, ò dell' Oratione di Quiete, ò ſiano Perſone Religioſe, ò figli di famiglia, ò altri, che vivono ſotto l'altrui commando, non devono in quel tempo obedire & eſeguire gli ordini della Regola, ò de' ſuperiori, per non interrompere la Contemplatione.

R. La contemplatione ancorche ſia in noi di gran perfettione, perche non ci viene commandata da' Dio, interrompendoſi non ſi pecca, mà eſſendoci commandata da' io l Obedienza a' Genitori, & à ſuperiori, ſi deve obedire a' queſti, anco con laſciare l'attual Contemplatione, perche in riguardo dell' ordine divino l'obedienza è preferibile nella prattica, ancorche la Contemplatione ſia molto più conſiderabile nella ſua perfettione objettiva.

XVIII. Devono i Contemplativi eſſer totalmente ſpogliati dell' affetto di tutte le Coſe, che rigettino a' ſe, e diſpreggino li Doni, e favori di Dio, e ſi diſaffettionino dell' iſteſſa virtù, ò per maggiormente ſpogliarſi d'ogni coſa, e viver meglio a' ſe medeſimi, fare aucora quello, che ripugno alla modeſtia, & all' Honeſtà, purche non ſia eſpreſſamente contro liprecetti Del Decalogo.

R. Iddio favoriſce i Contemplativi con la Communicatione de' ſuoi boni, non per eſſere queſti diſprezzati, mà per abbellirgli l'Anima, e fortificargli l'habilità naturale all' eſercitio della virtù. Dunque ancorche i Contemplativi non ſe ne debbano inſuperbire, devono ſopramodo ſtimarli, ò ſervirſene con humiltà di ſpirito: E ſe Dio vuole l'honeſtà come buona, ſono in obligo anche i Contemplativi eſſer honeſti, perche Iddio non hà fatto decreto, che privilegiaſſe i Contemplativi à non eſſer ſogetti alla raggione, ſu là quale ſi fonde la Modeſtia, e l'honneſtà della Vita.

XIX.

XIX. Li Contemplativi ſono ſogetti alle Violenze, per le quali reſtano privi dell' uſo del libero arbitrio, ſi che ſe anco bene graviſſimamente peccano eſteriormente, nondimeno interiormente non fanno peccato alcuno; onde ne anco devono Confeſſarſi de ciò, che hanno fatto. Ciò ſi prova con l'eſempio di Giob, il quale con tutto che non ſolo ingiuriaſſe il Proſſimo, mà anco beſtemmiaſſe empiamente Dio, in ogni modo non peccava, perche tutto queſto faceva per violenza del Demonio. E per dar giuditio di queſte violenze, non ſervè la Teologia Scolaſtica, e morale, mà è neceſſario Spirito ſopranaturale, il quale in pocchiſſimi ſi trova, & in queſti s'hà dà giudicare non l'interno dall' eſterno, mà l'eſterno dall' interno.

R. Che in queſto Cap. 19. non ſolamente *lates Anguis ſub herba*, mà apertamente ſi vede, che ſotto nome di Contemplativi ſpirituali, vogliono i Quietiſti eſſere debaccanti ſenſuali. L'eſempio, che adducono di Giob ben demoſtra che no' hanno intelligenza della Scrittura. Mai Giob peccò eſteriormente nè contro il Proſſimo, nè contro Dio, quando parlò nel cap 19. nel 6. verſo, come ben dimonſtra, anco per mezzo dell' ſenſo litterale Pineda tom. 11. ſopra Giob c. 35. nè peccò contro il Proſſimo, come nell' iſteſſo può vederſi. ſempre fondata sù la Dottrina de SS. Padri, che delle Scritture, e inſegnano il vero ſenſo. E per dirla in poche parole con altre raggioni, la gratia con la quale Iddio ſempre ci aſſiſte, unita con la noſtra cooperatione può ſuperare ogni aſſalto nemico. E Chriſto lo diſſe à tutti in perſona di S. Paolo: *Sufficit tibi gratia mea.* Dunque il Contemplativo non e violentabile de venghi neceſſitato al peccato eſteriori, &c.

THE PRINCIPAL ERRORS Of thoſe who Practiſe *The Prayer of Quietneſs,* Cenſured and Refuted.

I. ERROR.

CONtemplation, or *the Prayer of Inward quietneſs*, conſiſts in this, *that a man puts himſelf in the preſence of God, by forming an obſcure Act of Faith, full of Love, tho ſimple, and ſtops there, without going further: and without ſuffering any Reaſoning, the Images of any things, or any Object whatſoever to enter into his mind: and ſo remains fixed and unmoveable, in his Act of Faith: it being a want in that Reverence that is due to God, to redouble this ſimple act of his: which is a thing of ſo much merit, and of ſo great force, that it comprehends within it ſelf, and far exceeds the merit of all other vertues, joyned together; and it laſts the whole courſe of a mans life*

life, if it is not diſcontinued by ſome other Act, that is contrary to it; therefore it is not neceſſary to repeat or redouble it.

The CENSURE and REFUTATION.

It is not an Act of Faith that puts us in the Preſence of God: for he is within us by a neceſſary effect of the Immenſity of his nature: therefore *Elias*, *Micaiah*, and the other Prophets ſaid, *Vivit Deus in cujus conſpectu ſto. The Lord lives in whoſe preſence I ſtand:* and it is upon the ſame reaſon that the Divines have ſaid after S. Auſtin, *In Deo vivimus movemur & ſummus; In God we live, we move, and have our being:* ſo that an Act of Faith, that preſuppoſes that the Agent is in being, ſuppoſes likewiſe that it is in the preſence of God; & is indeed nothing elſe but a Reſignation that the Creature makes of it ſelf to God. Therefore *Contemplation*, even during that firſt obſcure Act of Faith, that is ſimple and full of love, is carried on by the Soul while ſhe looks at God, and not at all while ſhe continues in an unmoveable ſtate. It is then an Evident Falſehood to ſay, that other good actions are not

Another would have thought that S Paul *ſhould have been cited for this, rather than S.* Auſt. *ſince he had ſaid this firſt,* Acts. 17. v. 28. *but* Rome *is not the place of the World where the* N. Teſtament *is moſt read; and this putting of ones ſelf in the preſence of God, can only mean the conſidering ones ſelf as before him.*

not at all neceſſary: any good act being of its nature finite, may become always better, by being often reiterated, and the multiplying the Acts of vertue cannot be contrary to the Reverence that is due to God, who being exempt from all paſſion, can never be troubled or wearied with Importunities, as great men are apt to be, who as Experience teaches, are often changed, diſturbed, and become uneaſy, when the ſame things are too often repeated to them. But with relation to God, when an act is in it ſelf good, the repeating it is a progreſs in good; which is approved of God, and becomes more meritorious in his ſight. Therefore the Soul in Contemplating, continues her Acts, and does not ſtick obſtinatly to one ſingle Act, *Contemplation* being ſtill an Operation of the Mind, tho other things are likewiſe neceſſary.

II. ERROR.

One cannot make one ſtep towards Perfection by meditation, that being to be obtained entirely by Contemplation.

REFUTATION.

A Chriſtian by meditating ſeriouſly on the Paſſion of Chriſt, and reflecting on that Love that made a God ſuffer ſo much for Mankind, may upon that reſolve to love him again, and to obey all his Commands: and he may by the grace of God which is ever preſent to us, put

thoſe good purpoſes in Execution: ſo that the Soul may well advance towards perfection by Meditation: It may be alſo done without Meditation: for every one that lives according to the Laws of God, may work out his own Salvation by the help of God. Now ſince no man can be ſaved but he that is perfect and a Friend of God's, then this *Article* is moſt certainly falſe.

III. ERROR.

All Study and Learning, even in ſacred Matters and in Divinity, is a hindrance to Contemplation: of which learned men are not able to make a true judgment, that being only to be expected upon thoſe that are given to Meditation and Contemplation.

REFUTATION.

The Study of *Divinity* makes known to us the Object of *Contemplation*: which as the *Quietiſts* ſay, is the *Divine Eſſence*: therefore it conſiſts well with *Contemplation*: and if the Study of Divinity were oppoſit to this, then the ignorance of it is neceſſary to make a man Contemplative: and thus ſince S. *Auſtin* and all the other holy Doctors and Lights of the Church, were men Learned in this ſtudy, they muſt be looked on as men that were incapable of riſing up to Con-

This Article is falſely repreſented: for the Quietiſts, *as all other* Myſticks *only except to that dry learning which is not accompanied with an inward ſenſe of Divine matters.*

Contemplation: which is falſe: becauſe God, who has appointed the *Prieſthood* as the higheſt degree of ſervice done him, cannot be ſuppoſed to have intended that the Prieſts ſhould not be Contemplative perſons; and it is plain, that God will have his Prieſts to be knowing: ſince in the Scriptures he threatens by *Hoſea* the Prophet ſuch as deſpiſed knowledge, and yet were in the Prieſthood, *Tu repuliſti ſcientiam & ego repellam te ne ſacerdotio fungaris. Thou haſt rejected knowledge, and therefore I have rejected thee from the Prieſthood.* I paſs over other Arguments from Scripture and Reaſon, becauſe I am ordered to be ſhort: and as for what is ſaid in this *Article*, that the *Learned cannot Judge of Contemplation*, it ſhews plainly, that the Ignorance of thoſe ſpiritualiſts carries them to this boldneſs, of not being willing to ſubmit to that Correction, which they might expect from that Infallible mean of the Judgment of the Learned.

Here is a new tribunal of Infallibility.

IV. ERROR.

There is no Contemplation that is perfect, but that which regards God himſelf; the Myſteries of the Incarnation, and of the Life and Paſſion of our Saviour, are not the Objects of Contemplation: on the contrary, they hinder it: ſo that Contemplative perſons muſt avoid them

them at a great distance, and think of them only with Contempt.

REFUTATION.

If Contemplation is an affection that is raised in the Understanding or the Will by its proper object by the help of the Grace of God, and that consists in an Inward Recollection of the mind, then the Life of Christ is a proper Object for it, since a Christian can present this to his thoughts, and raise upon it an Act of Faith and Love. Besides, Christ came by a Commission from his Eternal Father to plant Paradise here on Earth, according to that of the Prophet Isaias, *Posui verbum meum in ore tuo ut plantes Cœlos & fundes terram*; *I have put my word in thy mouth that thou may plant the Heavens and establish the earth*; or as the Chaldee Paraphrase hath it, *ut plantes Cœlos in terra, that thou may plant the Heavens in the Earth*; as if he had said (as St. *Jerome* understood the words) that thou may plant true joy in those minds, that were debased by Original sin; and how can it be imagined, that Contemplative persons can rise above themselves in their Contemplations to taste of Divine Joys, if they must keep at such a distance

If we judge of this new Infallibility by this way of proving that Jesus Christ is the proper Object of Contemplation, we will not much admire it; but if this Article *is true, it looks liker* Deism.

ſtance from Jeſus Chriſt, who is the Immediate giver of them; and deſpiſe him? Chriſt is ſo far from hindring of Contemplation, that he came into the World to diſtribute all thoſe Perfections and Spiritual Joys to which the Contemplative aſpire.

V. ERROR.

Corporal Penitences and Auſterities do not belong to Contemplative Perſons: on the contrary, it is better to begin ones Converſion by a ſtate of Contemplation, than by a ſtate of Purgation or of Pennance; and Contemplative Perſons ought to avoid and deſpiſe all the effects of ſenſible Devotion, ſuch as tenderneſs of Heart, Tears and Spiritual Conſolations, all which are contrary to Contemplation.

REFUTATION.

Motifications diſpoſe the Spirit to riſe above the motions of Senſe; and there fore it is that all the Saints have begun their courſe towards Perfection, with Faſting and Diſcipline. And therefore if theſe Contemplatives deſign Perfection, they muſt practice Pennance: ſince nothing renders a man ſo fit for Contemplation, as to riſe above all the Diſorders of Senſe. God in the Scriptures promiſes to forgive the mourning Sinner; but this is not promiſed to the contemplative in any place either in the Old or New Teſtament. Therefore it is better to begin ones

Converſion with purgative Exerciſes and Pennances, than with Contemplation.

VI. ERROR.

True Contemplation muſt keep it ſelf fixed only to the Eſſence of God, without reflecting either on his Perſon or his Attributes. And an Act of Faith thus conceived, is more perfect and meritorious than that which conſiders God with the Divine Attributes, or with the Perſons of the Trinity in it.

If this Article is true, it confirms the ſuſpition of *Deiſm.*

REFUTATION.

The Perſons of the Trinity, and the attributes of God, are the proper Objects of Faith and Love, while we recollect all the Powers of our Souls, and reſign our ſelves to God: for as theſe are Divine Truths, that are revealed to us, ſo the Attributes of God are both good in themſelves, and good to us, ſo that they are proper to raiſe in us a true Contemplation. It is alſo falſe, that an Act of Faith, that has God for its Object, without conſidering his Attributes, or the Perſons of the Trinity, is more perfect than that which regards God in Conjunction with them. For if to believe that God is one, and that he is juſt, is a perfect and a meritorious Act of Faith, and to believe that God is true in his,

Here one ſees what a thing School Divinity is; by this way of reckoning: but the value of Acts riſes from the Intention of the mind, and not from the Extention of the object.

Na-

Nature is alſo a perfect and meritorious Act; then the Act by which God is believed to be true, juſt and Three in One, is a more perfect and a more meritorious Act, than that in which he was conſidered only as one in Eſſence. Becauſe a man merits more by two Acts of the ſame vertue than by a ſingle one only: for God has communicated ſupernatural helps to us, not only for doing one Act of vertue, but that we may make an advance in ſuch Acts. Therefore one Act of Faith, that is equivalent to two others, is more meritorious and perfect than any one of theſe two. Therefore we may juſtly conclude againſt the firſt branch of this *Article*, that true and perfect Contemplation raiſed to its higheſt pitch, muſt not only regard God in his Eſſence, but likewiſe in his Perſons and Attributes.

VII. ERROR.

The Soul becomes immediately united to God in Contemplation; ſo that there is no need of Phantaſms, Images, or any ſort of Repreſentation.

REFUTATION.

Though it is true, that the Soul in ſome ſort unites her ſelf immediately to God in Contemplation, that is, by an Union of Affections; for the Underſtanding beholds God ſimply, yet ſome Ideas are

This is not meant of pure Ideas, but of groſs Phantaſms.

neceſſary for exciting the natural force of the Underſtanding, and to carry it to look at God: which Idea is a ſort of Object that moves the Underſtanding.

VIII. ERROR.

All contemplative perſons ſuffer in the Act of Contemplation ſuch grievous Torments, they ſeem to ſurpaſs even the Sufferings of the Martyrs themſelves.

REFUTATION.

If Contemplation conſiſts the (as *Quietiſts* pretend it does) in this, that the Soul puts her ſelf in the preſence of God, by an Act of Faith, full of Love, and after that continues idle: this is not the being formally tormented, or the enduring more than the Martyrs ſuffered: and tho it is true in ſome ſort, that pains and miſeries come after Contemplation, this flows either from the Devil, to whom upon that occaſion God gives leave to try thoſe Perſons, or from ſome weakneſs in Nature, that oppreſſes the Body, from Melancholy, or an abundance of Blood, that raiſes Head-aches, or from ſome other unknown Cauſe. But many others have appeared to be in the very Act of Contemplation, as it were environed with Light and

This Article is alſo falſly repreſented; for the *Quietiſts* only mean, that Souls ſuffer many inward Agonies in a contemplative ſtate, of which all the Books of the *Myſticks* are full, and which they call the great Deſolation.

and have looked with a ſerene, and ſometimes with a ſmiling countenance; which *Lewis* the XI. of *France* obſerved in *Franciis a Paula*; and they have been as it were overflown with Joy, when the Contemplation was over; having been admitted in it, to ſee their Bridegroom in that ſimple Act, in which there paſſes as it were a Marriage between God and the Soul.

IX. ERROR.

During the Sacrifice of the Maſs, and on the Feſtivals of the Saints, it is better to apply ones ſelf to an Act of pure Faith, and to Contemplation, than to the Myſteries of that Sacrifice, or to conſider the Lives of thoſe Saints.

REFUTATION.

He is much deceived, who thinks to arrive at Contemplation without a due diſpoſition of Soul for it: and therefore the conſideration of the Myſteries of the Maſs, and of the Examples that the Saints have ſet us, is a ſpiritual preparation for it, tho it may be only a remote one: therefore a Chriſtian ought to ſet himſelf firſt to conſider the Myſteries of the Maſs, and the Lives of the Saints, and then apply himſelf to Contemplation, having prepared his Soul duly for it.

The *Quietiſts* only mean by this, that if a man in an act of outward devotion if carried to Contemplate, he is not to hold his mind to the outward devotion.

X. ERROR.

The reading of Spiritual Books, Sermons, Vocal Prayer, the Invocation of Saints, and all such things, are hindrances to Contemplation, which is only attained by the Prayer *of* Quietneſs, *to which it is not neceſſary to premiſe any preparation whatſoever.*

REFUTATION.

If in every profeſſion, but chiefly in a true and unfeignedly ſpiritual Temper, that Maxim holds good, *Nemo repente ſit ſummus*, No man attains to the height all of the ſudden, which daily experience demonſtrates, then it is but ſuteable to the feebleneſs of our Nature, to which the Divine Grace accommodates it ſelf, that in our Journey towards that heighth of Eternity, *à facilioribus ſit incipiendum*, we muſt begin with thoſe things that are eaſier; therefore it is great Ignorance or preſumption to enter into the *Prayer of Quietneſs* before other exerciſes, and without due preparation. And he who begins his courſe thus, will end it without any fruit.

The *Quietiſts* only mean, that no general Methods carry men to Contemplation and that it is the effect of a ſpecial Grace.

XI. ERROR.

The Sacrament of Pennance before Communion, is not for contemplative Souls, that live in this inward ſtate; but only for thoſe that are in the Exteriour and Meditative ſtate.

RE-

REFUTATION.

These Contemplative persons have but one Soul, which at some times mediates, and at other times contemplates: and that may come to be in a state of sin. Therefore the Sacrament of Pennance is necessary even for those Contemplative Souls, before they go to Communion.

This of one Soul is ridiculous.

XII. ERROR.

Meditation does not look at God with the Light of Faith, but only in a natural Light, in Spirit and in Truth: and therefore it is not meritorious before God.

REFUTATION.

If Meditation were not in some sort at least in the way of Congruity, meritorious before God; it could not be so much practised in all Religious Orders, from whence there have come, and daily there does come, so many of the shining-lights of the Holy *Roman Church*: nor would it have been set on so much by their Holy *Patriarchs*, nor rewarded by the *Popes* with Plenary Indulgences, as a spiritual Exercise suteable to the Friends of God; and to those who had abandoned the Snares of this present World. But as one may know the Existence of God by the Light of Nature, as well as by a supernatural Faith, so likewise some

The *Quietists* only condemn a dry and Mechanical Meditation,

Meditations look at God, only with the Light of Nature; and others are Acts of a Supertural Faith.

XIII. ERROR.

Not only inward and mental Images, but those outward ones which are worshipped by the Faithful, such as the Images of Christ and of his Saints, are hurtful to contemplative Persons, and they ought to be avoided and removed, that so they may not hinder Contemplation.

REFUTATION.

All things are useful to the Service of Christ, that either is decreed, or that may be decreed by the Holy *Mother Church*: in all whose Consultations the Holy Ghost presides and directs them. Therefore if the Church appoints the *Adoration of Images*, none of the Faithfull ought to avoid them, or remove them as hurtful to Contemplation, and some secret looks towards these Images, is no way likely to make a man fall from the heighth of Contemplation; or the *Prayer of Quietness*; from which if he falls at any time, it flows from his own great Instability, since the reasonable Soul is a Nobler being, and the Grace that it receives, is of a higher nanature,

Here notwithstanding all our Representers in *England*, you see the *Adoration of Images* is so received at *Rome*, that it is a Crime to think that the most perfect may be above it.

ture, than is ſuppoſed in this Article. Therefore a moderate regard to *Images* will ſerve to confirm the Soul in her inward Recollection, if a Contemplative man regulates this by the help of the Grace of God.

XIV. ERROR.

He that hath once applied himſelf to Contemplation, muſt never return to Meditation; for this were to fall from a better State to a worſe.

REFUTATION.

It is true, that it is an ill thing to go from better to worſe; but it is oft times good for a man, that cannot attain to that which is *better*, to content himſelf with that which is *good*. It is alſo true, that while a is in Contemplation, he ought not to let that go that he may turn himſelf to Meditation. Yet though Contemplation is ſtill the better State, when a Chriſtian is not actually in Contemplation, it is not Inconvenient for him to apply himſelf to Meditation: becauſe the Soul ought to follow God with all due Reverence, in all thoſe ways in which he may lead her.

This is only meant by the *Quietiſts*, of returning to a Mechanical way of Meditation.

XV. ERROR.

If foul and impure Thoughts come into the mind while one is in Contemplation, he ought to take no care to drive them away: nor to turn

himself to any good thoughts, but to have a complacence in the trouble that he suffers from them.

REFUTATION.

It is a piece of prudence in a man who being in Contemplation, would not lose that union by which he is united to God, to avoid every thing that may occasion it; as on the contrary, it is a strong piece of neglect to entertain that with complasance which must make one lose it, as St. *Thomas* of *Aquin* says, *He that loves the cause from which any effect follows, either naturally, or at least commonly, does virtually love the effect it self*: And the Holy Ghost says, *He that loves danger, shall perish in it.* Therefore a man who being in Contemplation, feels the Rebellion of the sensible part, he ought to use all diligence to overcome in whatsoever a state he may be in. He ought therefore to recommend it to God, and to implore his Grace to quiet all those evil thoughts: that so his joy being spread abroad in the Soul, all the disorderly motions of sense may be calmed, & *ut sint aspera in vias planas.* That what is rough may be made smooth.

This is only so to be understood, that according to the rules given by all the *Mysticks*, when ill thoughts come into a mans mind, the best way to overcome them, is rather to neglect them, than to struggle much against them.

XVI. ERROR.

No inward Action or Affection, though formed by the vertue of Faith, is pure or pleasing to God: because it rises out of self-love, unless it is infused in us by the Holy Ghost, without any Industry or Diligence used by us: therefore they that are in the state of Contemplation or of Prayer, or inward Affections, ought to continue in a state of suspence, waiting for the miraculous Influence of the Holy Ghost.

REFUTATION.

God is not only pleased with all his own Gifts, that are in us, but with every thing that is done by us, with the help of his Grace; therefore our Contemplation will be so much the more perfect, the less inactive we our selves are; provided that the Contemplative person does not suffer himself to be carried away by any sensible Object; for by that he would fall from that State, and become as *Lot's* Wife, who was stopt short, because she looked behind her. It is then a rashness to keep our selves in an unactive state, and in it to look for the miraculous Influence of the H. Ghost. For all that are in the *Prayer of Quietness*, must not expect to be led into this Passive State, since they have not a Condignity suteable

This is indeed down-right Enthusiasm, yet much of this strain will be found in all the Writings of the *Mysticks.*

able to thoſe Gifts. Though ſome times the H. Ghoſt does penetrate the Souls of thoſe who are in this prayer of inward affection, but this is the effect of a particular Grace: I add againſt the firſt branch of this *Article* that the *Quietiſts* ſay in the 12th *Article*, that Meditation is of no merit in the ſight of God, becauſe it does not look at him with the Light of Faith; from which I infer, that an Act formed by the Power of Faith, is meritorious before God, and by conſequence, it is pure and acceptable to him.

XVII. ERROR.

Thoſe who have arrived at the State of Comtemplation, and the Prayer of inward Quietneſs, being Religious Perſons, or being under the authority of Parents, or any other Superiors, are not bound to obſerve their Rules, or to obey their Superiors, while they are in Contemplation, leſt that Interrupt it.

REFUTATION.

Although Contemplation is an Act of high Perfection, yet ſince it is not commanded by God, it may be interupted without ſin: and ſince Obedience to Parents and Superiours, is commanded by God, that ought to take place, and even Contemplation ought to be be diſcontinued in order to it. And therefore conſidering the Order that God has ſettled, that Obedience ought to be-

This the *Quietiſts* deny, as an Imputation caſt upon them.

pre-

preferred to Contemplation, tho the latter is as to its objective Perfection much more valuable than the former.

XVIII. ERROR.

Contemplative Persons ought to divest themselves of all affections to all things: they ought to reject and despise all Gods Gifts and Favours, and to strip themselves of all Inclinations even for virtue it self; and in order to this total abnegation of all things, and that they may live better within themselves, they ought even to do that which is contrary to Modesty and Decency; provided that it be not expresly contray to some of the ten Commandments.

All the *Mistics*, and in particular *Sr. Phil. Neuris*, have often done things that seemed ridiculous and absurd as the highest exercises of Mortification and Humility.

REFUTATION.

When God favours Contemplative Persons so far, as to communicate any of his blessings to them, these things ought not to be despised, but to be considered as Favours that tend both to beautifie the Soul, and to Fortifie her in the Exercise of Vertue: so that though Contemplative Persons ought not to be lifted up with them, yet they ought to value them highly, and to make use of them with all Humility of Spirit: and since God considers *Decency* as a sort of Goodness, Contemplative Persons

ought

ought to be *decent* in all things: for God has not by any ſpecial Decree exempted them from the Rules of Reaſon, upon which all the *Modeſty* and *Decency* of Life is founded.

XIX. ERROR.

Contemplative Perſons are ſubject to violent Commotions, of which they loſe the exerciſe of the Freedom of their Will. So that tho they may fall into moſt grievous Sins, as to the exteriour Act, yet they do not at all ſin inwardly: And ſo they are not bound to confeſs that which they have done. All this is proved by the example of Job, *who tho he not only ſaid things that were very injurious to his Neighbour, but had Blaſphemed God moſt Impiouſly, yet he did not ſin in all this: becauſe all was done by the Violence of the Devil. In order to the judging of theſe Violences, neither the Learning of the Schoolmen or of the Caſuiſts, is of any uſe: but a ſupernatural Spirit is neceſſary, which is to be found in very few perſons, now theſe are the only Competent Judges, who muſt not judge of the Internal by the External; but on the contrary, of the External by the Internal.*

This the Quietiſts reject as a Calumny, to render them juſtly odious to all the World.

RE-

REFUTATION.

In this Article the Snake does not hide himſelf in the Graſs, but ſhews himſelf very viſibly: ſince by this it is plain, that the *Quietiſts* will be ſenſual *Libertines* under the name of Spiritual and Contemplative Perſons. The Example that they bring of *Job* ſhews clearly how little they underſtand the Scripture. *Job* did not ſin outwardly, neither againſt his Neighbour nor againſt God in what he ſaid, cap. 19. ver. 6. as *Pineda* (*tom.* 2. *in Job.* 235.) has evidently proved from the literal ſenſe of the Words: he did not ſin againſt his Neighbour, as appears by the Expoſitions of the Holy *Fathers*, from whom we are to learn the true ſenſe of the Scriptures. And to end this matter in a few words, that Grace with which God aſſiſts us at all times, is ſuch, that we co-operating with it, may overcome all the Temptations of our Enemies. And Chriſt has ſaid to all in the Perſon of St. *Paul*, *My Grace is ſufficient for thee*: therefore a Contemplative Perſon cannot be puſhed on by any violence or neceſſity whatſoever, to any External Act of Sin.

But it is very poorly refuted, certainly Job *ſaid many very hard things, which God who knew the ſincerity of his heart and the ſtrength of his temptations, did not lay to his charge,*

RE- It

It is not eaſie to judge whether theſe *Articles* are faithfully drawn out, or truly repreſentented: for it is probable, that *Malice* has a large ſhare in ſome of them, chiefly in this laſt, which leads to down-right *Libertinage*; tho others have rather ſuſpected, that all tended to an elevated *Deiſm*: yet it is certain, that if there is much Poiſon in theſe *Articles*, the Antidote of the *Cenſure* is ſo feeble, that it cannot have a ſtrong Operation; and it ſhews how little the Scripture and true Divinity is underſtood at *Rome*.

POST-SCRIPT.

IN the former *Letter*, I told you all that I could learn of this matter, during my ſtay at *Rome*, but having left it in *July*, I prevailed with one to give me and account of the Concluſion of this affair, of which I ſend you a Copy: For tho I know all the *Gazettes* of *Europe* will be full of the Deciſion and end that believed to be put to the buſineſs of *Quietiſm*, yet you know too well, how little one ought to depend on ſuch Relations: all the news of this matter, will either be that which is writ by the direction of the *Inquiſition*, or by the Strangers that are there, and pick up ſuch things as they find among the *Romans* who are ever true to the old Cha-

Character that *Juvenal* gave of that *City*,

Sequitur fortunam, ut ſemper, & odit Damnator.

Therefore I will give you an account of this buſineſs, on which you may depend, in the words of a Letter writ me from *Rome*.

Now this great Affair, upon which men have ſo long looked with ſo much expectation, is at an end: and a Party that was believed to be a Million ſtrong, is now either quite extinguiſhed, or at leaſt oppreſſed with a great deal of Infamy: and Mr. *Molinos*, who has lived above twenty years in this *City*, in the higheſt Reputation poſſible, is now as much hated as ever he was admired, he is not only conſidered as a condemned, and an Abjured Heretick, but he is ſaid to have been convicted of much Hypocriſie and of a very lewd courſe of Life; which is ſo firmly believed by the *Romans*, that he was treated by them on the day of his Abjuration, with all poſſible Indignities; but the People as they ſhewed their affections to him, by their cries of *Fire, Fire*, ſo were ready to have Sacrificed him to their Rage, if he had not been well defended by the *Sbiri* and Guards that were about him. And it would be a Crime enough at preſent, to recommend a man to the care of the *Inquiſitors*, if he ſhould ſeem to doubt either of his Hereſie, or of the Scandals of his Life. All the Party is extreamly ſunk: Cardinal *Petrucci* himſelf

himſelf lives in *Rome* as if he were in a deſert; for no body goes to viſit him, and he ſtirs as little abroad; nor is it thought that he will eſcape: there are four ſent by the *Inquiſition* to his Dioceſs of *Jeſſi* to examine his behaviour there: there is alſo a diſcourſe, that has lately appeared at *Rome*, that was ſecretly printed, of which he is ſuſpected to be the Author, which is an *Apology for Quietiſm*, that gives great offence. It is ſaid, that the *Inquiſitors* had full proofs againſt *Molinos*, by fourteen Witneſſes; of whom eight indeed came and offered their Depoſitions of their own accord, and the other ſix were forced to declare the truth, which raiſes the Credit of their Teſtimony: ſince his Abjuration, it is ſaid that many of his Followers have Abjured in private, and that beſides the Priſoners that are in their hands, great numbers come in every day to accuſe themſelves, and to offer themſelves to pennance, theſe are all very gently diſmiſſed by the *Inquiſitors*, who are now as much cenſured by the *Romans* for their exceſſive mildneſs, as ever they have been blamed by others for their rigour: and thoſe ſecret Abjurations are believed to be all the Severity that they will practiſe on this Occaſion; for it is ſaid that even *F. Appiani* the *Jeſuit* will be abjured in ſecret; tho ſome ſay, he is mad, others that he is become deaf and dumb, and not a few believe that he is dead: ſo uncertain are all

Reports

Reports at preſent. In a word, the hatred of the preſent *Pontificate* appears very viſibly upon this Occaſion: the *People* affecting to ſhew a very extraodinary rage againſt a perſon, and a party, that has been ſo much favoured and ſupported by the *Pope:* ſo that this matter comes clearly home to him, and wounds his Reputation extreamly; all this raiſes the credit of the *Jeſuits*, who value themſelves upon the zeal and the conduct of their *Society* upon this Occaſion. All the *Popes* Enemies, the *Jeſuites*, the *French Party*, and the Body of the *People*, that are Male-contented and weary of him, and his long and dull *Reign*, ſhew the Pleaſure they have in aggravating this matter againſt him: they ſay, this is the firſt time that ever any *Hereſie* made *Rome* its Seat, where it chooſed to neſtle it ſelf; but it is yet more ſtrange, that it ſhould have continued there above twenty years, notwithſtanding all that multitude of *Spyes* that the *Inquiſition* has every where; that the *Pope* ſhould have ſhut his Ears againſt all Complaints, ſo that this Doctrine had gained ſo great Authority, that thoſe who attackt it, paſſed for *Hereticks*, or Calumniators at leaſt, and that even after all the Diſcoveries that have been made, that the *Pope* was known to favour *Molinos* ſecretly, and was ſo hardly brought at laſt to conſent to the Condemnation, in which it is ſaid, that nothing prevailed on him till

the *Cardinal*'s informed him of the Scandals of *Molinos*'s Life, that were proved: this was indeed a matter that could fall within the *Popes* underſtanding for the points of Doctrine are believed to be above it. All theſe things concur to increaſe the Contempt under which the preſent *Pontificate* lies; yet as for thoſe Scandals of *Molinos*'s Life, I do not know what to belive: many will not believe them, and think they are only Impoſtures given out to render him odious; for if they had been true, and well proved, it is ſaid, that the Cenſure would have been ſeverer; for a perpetual *Impriſonment*, and the ſaying his *Credo*, and the fourth part of the *Roſary* every day, are mild Puniſhments, if he is found to have been ſo flagitious a Man, and ſo vile a Hypocrite, as is given out. His own Behaviour at the *Minerva* did not look either like a Man, that was much confounded with the Diſcoveries that had been made, or that was very penitent for them, or for his *Hereſie*: ſo that the mildneſs of the *Cenſure*, to a Man that ſhewed ſo little Humility or Repentance, ſeems to flow rather from the defectiveneſs of the Proofs, than from the gentleneſs of the *Tribunal*. I confeſs, I was not a witneſs to what paſſed in the *Minerva*; for as I would not venture in the Crowd, ſo both Money and Favour was neceſſary to accommodate a Man well on that occaſion, where not only

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a general Curioſity brought a vaſt confluence of People together, to ſee the iſſue of a Buſineſs that has been ſo long in ſuſpence, but a particular Devotion: for the *Pope* had granted a *General Indulgence* to all that ſhould aſſiſt in that Solemnity: but I will give you the account as I had it from eye-witneſſes. *Molinos* was well dreſſed, new trimm'd, in his Prieſtly Habit, with a chearful Countenance, that as was ſaid by his Enemies, had all the Charms on it, that were neceſſary to recommend him to the fair Sex. He was brought from *Priſon* in an open Coach, one *Dominican* being with him it in. He was at firſt placed for ſome time in one of the *Corridori of the Minerva:* he looked about him very freely, and returned all the Salutes that were made him: and all that he was heard ſay, was, *That they ſaw a Man that was defamed, but that was Penitent* (*Infamato me Pentito.*) After that he was carried to Dinner, where he was well treated, that being to be his laſt good Dinner. After Dinner, he was brought into the *Church*, as in a *Triumph*, carried on the ſhoulders of the *Sbiri* in an open Chair: when he was brought to his place, as he made his Reverence very devoutly to the *Cardinals*, ſo there was no ſhew of Fear or of Shame (in his whole Deportment. He was chained, and a Wax Light was put in his hand, while two ſtrong-Lung'd *Friers* read his *Proceſs* aloud,

and

and care had been taken to lay matters ſo, that as ſome of the *Articles* were read, all ſhould cry *Fire, Fire.* When he came back to *Priſon*, he entred into his little Cell, with great Tranquility, calling it his *Cabinet*, and took leave of his *Prieſt* in theſe words, *adieu Father, we ſhall meet again at the Day of Judgment, and then it will appear on which ſide the Truth is, whether on my ſide or on yours.* So he was ſhut up for *Life.* Yet after all I find none of the wiſe men here think that the thing is at an end; but that the Fire which ſeems to be now extinguiſhed, will break out with more violence; for one of his *Followers* had the boldneſs to tell the *Inquiſitors* to their face, that they were a Company of Unjuſt, Cruel and Heretical men; and compared their Treatment with that which Chriſt had met with, and yet even he has eſcaped upon an Abjuration, as is pretended. The Reaſons that are given for this extraordinary Gentleneſs of the *Inquiſitors*, who are ſeldom accuſed for erring on this ſide, are both the Numbers of the *Party*, who might be much irritated by publick Examples, and alſo the great Credit that their *Doctrine* has from the *Myſtical Divinity*, that is authoriſed by ſo many *Canoniſations*: for it is ſaid, that from ſeveral parts the *Inquiſitors* have brought together above twenty thouſand of *Molino's Letters*: whoſe Correſpondence

was

was ſo vaſt, that ſome give out, that the *Poſt* of the *Letters*, that were brought him the day in which he was ſeiſed on, riſe to twenty Crowns. And I heard a *Divine* of *Rome* confeſs, that they have ſuch *Authorities* for the moſt of their *Tenets*, that they will never be beat out of them, by the force of their *School Divinity*, therefore he thought it was neceſſary to condemn them by a formal Sentence, in which the Authority of the Church was to be interpoſed. Moſt of the condemned *Articles* are nothing but an Invidious Aggravating of the Doctrin of *Predeſtination* and *Grace* Efficacious of it ſelf, and immediate Inſpiration: for all the hard Conſequences that are pretended to be drawn, either from the one or the other of theſe Opinions, are all turned into ſo many *Articles* and condemned as ſo many Impious Doctrines; but you will be better able to judge of this matter when you ſee all that the *Inquiſitors* will think fit to print concerning it.

A SECOND LETTER Writ from ROME,

Containing ſome Particulars, relating to the

Inquiſition.

SIR,

MY laſt to you, together with the *Advertiſement* which was ſent me from *Rome*, related wholly to the Affairs of the *Quietiſts*; but becauſe I know your Curioſity will perhaps go further, and that you expect ſuch *Obſervations* from me, as you fancy me capable to make, in a *Country* where I have now made ſo long a ſtay, that it is my own fault, if I have not been able to ſee a little further than Common

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Travellers do, therefore I will try what I can ſay that may pleaſe you.

I am, as you know, not Searcher into *Manuſcripts*, or the Curioſities of *Libraries*, nor can I bring my ſelf to ſo dry a ſtudy as is that of *Medals*, or *Inſcriptions*. I had rather be beholding to the Labours of others, for the Diſcoveries they have made in thoſe matters, than wear out my Eyes and ſpend my Time in the reading and Deciphering thoſe *Remains* of Antiquity. I love all that knowledg, which, with how much difficulty ſoever it may be acquired, feeds the mind with ſome uſeful Ideas: but as for that knowledg which carrys one no further, then that ſuch a *Word*, or ſuch a *Hierogliphick* ſignified ſuch a *thing*, and that gives the mind no matter to work on, and raiſes no game at which it may fly, it has not charm enough to work on ſo laſy a man as I am. I confeſs, my ſtudies, and my way of Life would have carried me more naturally into matters of *Religion*, or into the *Politicks*: but as to the former, *Italy* is not a Country, where a man either can or dare reaſon upon theſe Subjects: for their Ignorance is ſuch, that no man can profit much by their converſation on thoſe heads: beſides that, it is not ſafe to do it. The *Italians* are too well bred, to attack a man on that Argument; and they know their own ignorance ſo well, and have ſo high an Opi-

sion of the *Learning* of the *Hereticks*, that they are sure never to provoke any of them: and he were a very bold and indiscreet man, that would begin the dispute with them: so after all, *News* and *Politicks* is all that Remains, and you know I am idle enough both to think and to talk of these upon occasion: yet I must confess, that I find so many of my *Reflections* in Dr. *Burnets Letters*, that I have got sent me from *Leghorn*, that if I had not seen these, I had very likely writ you a great many of those that are already set out by him, with so much advantage, that I find the best part of all my *Observations* are already made by a better Pen: but I, who have as great an Aversion from copying, as he says he has; will avoid the saying any one thing that I find in his *Letters:* and will only speak of those Places that he did not see, or of those matters which he had not time enough to enquire after, or to observe; and since the former *Letter*, contained such a long and serious recital of a matter, that if it fixed your attention, yet must have wearied it, I will now divert you a little, with some *Storys*, that will be more agreeable; and then I will return to more serious *Subjects*. I will begin with some relating to the *Inquisition*. I told you in my former *Letter*, of a great many *Prisoners* in the *Inquisition*, but among all the *Prisoners* that are there, none will surprise you so much as when

when I tell you that there is a *Crucifix* kept there, which is called, *our Saviour in the Inquisition*: when this was first told me, I durst not speak out that which naturally occurred to my thoughts, which was, that our *Saviour* and the *Truth of his Gospel*, was indeed shut up with so much severity by the *Inquisitors*, that it was no wonder if he were reckoned among the *Prisoners* of that severe *Court*. But this story is less serious, and more Comical.

You know that in all the bigotted *Towns*, the *people* are sorted in several *Fraternities* and every one of these, has their peculiar *Churches*, *Altars*, *Images* and *Relicks*, to which they pay a more extraordinary devotion: so there was one in *Florence*, among whose favourite *Images* a *Crucifix* hapned to be one: a *Woman* (that had a fair *Daughter*) fell sick: and as she had payed many Devotions to that *Image*, so she came to fancy, that in her sickness she had the Returns of very extraordinary Favours from it. The truth of the matter was, that one who had a mind to have frequent access to her *Daughter*, made a shift to deceive the poor *sick Woman*: for he appeared in such a disguise to her, that she believed it was the *Image* that came to comfort her. And that which was the most acceptable part of the Imposture was, that the *Impostor* knew by her *Daughters* means, every thing that she wan-

ted, and took care to provide it for her, ſo that at every viſit that he made her, he brought along with him, all the things that ſhe needed: this was ſenſible; ſo the credulous *Woman* believed all this came from her beloved *Image*: and ſhe was now as grateful as ſhe had been before devout: ſhe told all that came to ſee her; how careful and bountiful that *Image* was to her; and ſhewed them how well ſhe was ſupplied by it. In ſhort, this came to be generally believed: for when the leaſt *ſtory* of this kind gets vent, and is well received by the *Prieſts*, the *People* run in ſo headlong to it, that it would paſs for a Crime capable enough of ruining one in the Spirit of the *Inquiſitors*, to ſeem to doubt of it; but much more if one ſtudied to undeceive others: therefore things of this nature kindle the minds of a ſuperſtitious multitude ſo quick, that in a few days a whole *Town* will ſeem as it was out of its Wits: which appeared ſignally on this occaſion at *Florence*; for now the whole *Town* entred into this *Fraternity*. The *Great Duke* himſelf came into the number, and all were ſtudying what new Honours ſhould be done to an *Image* that had been ſo kind to one of its *Worſhippers*. But ſome that were wiſer than the reſt, ſaw through the Cheat, and Informed *P. Innocent* the 10*th*. of it, who was reſolved to put a ſtop to the current of this *Superſtition*: yet he ſaw it was neceſſary

ceſſary to do it with ſome addreſs: It fell out to be the year of *Jubily* 1650. ſo the *Pope* writ to *Florence*, that he had heard of the *Miracles* of that *Image*, to which he deſired earneſtly to do his own *Devotions*, therefore he intreated them to bring it to *Rome*; that ſo the *Image* might have the addreſſes of all the *Pilgrims*, as well as his own made to it. Upon this the more bigotted of the *Fraternity*, would needs accompany the Charitable *Image*: ſo they carried it in *Proceſſion* to *Rome*: and did not doubt but that the *Pope* and *Cardinals* with the *Clergy* of *Rome* would have come out in *Proceſſion* to meet them and their *Image*: The ſurpriſe was no doubt very great, when inſtead of all this, they found a Company of *Sbirri* ſtaying for them at the *Porta dell Populo*; who took their *Image* from them, and carried it away to the *Inquiſition*; and ſent them away not a little mortified at the Disgrace, that had befallen their *Crucifix*, who has been ever ſince a *Priſoner* in the *Inquiſition*.

I was told of another *Priſoner* there of a later date, but not much unlike this. You know the legend of the *Plague* that was in *Rome*, as I remember in S. *Gregory the great's* time, that was ſtopt by an *Angel*, that as was pretended came down, and ſtood over that *Caſtle*, which was formerly called *Moles Hadriani*, but has carried the name of *Caſtro S. Angelo* ever ſince. The *Fryers* of *Ara Cœli* had

got a *Stone*, upon which there was an Impreſſion like the print of a *Foot*: ſo they had put this in ſome part of their *Church*, and gave it out that this print was made by the *Foot* of that *Angel*; tho one can *hardly* Imagine how they fancied that an *Angel* treads ſo hard. This *Stone* had many *Devotions* payed it. The learned Sigr. *Pietro Bellori*, who is without diſpute the beſt *Antiquary* in *Rome*, being once in that *Chappel* at his Devotions; obſerved a great many praying about this *Stone*, and kiſſing it with great Reſpect and Affection; ſo he came to look upon it, and having examined it carefully, he ſaw clearly it was a fragment of a Statue of the Goddeſs *Iſis*; the *Greek* Characters were legible, and many things concurred to make a man of his Learning and Exactneſs conclude, that the *Devotions* were miſ-applied that were payed it; ſo he went to one of the *Fathers* of the *Houſe*, and acquainted him with his Obſervation: and wiſhed that they would remove that miſtaken Object of Worſhip, leſt ſome of the learned *Hereticks* that paſſed thro' *Rome*, might diſcover and reproach the *Church* with it. But the *Fathers* of the *Houſe* found their account in this matter, ſo they were ſo far from following his good Advice, that they aſperſed him that had given it, ſo as to accuſe him of Impiety for diverting the Devotions of the people: the Imputation was carried ſo far

far that he was brought before the *Inquiſition* to clear himſelf, which he did ſo fully, that he not only got ſafe out of their hands, but which was more, he convinced them that he was in the right: ſo the *Stone* was removed, and keeps the *Crucifix* company in the *Inquiſition*.

But by theſe two Storys, you will perhaps imagin that I deſign to beget in you a good Opinion of that *Court*; but I will now tell you another, that will ſoon bring you back to your old thoughts of that Tribunal. *Burrhi* is a man ſo famous in the World, that one that has looked into Natural *Philoſophy* and *Chimiſtry*, could not be long in *Rome* without making an acquaintance with him. but to tell you truth, I neither found him to be ſo great a *Chimiſt* as he fancies himſelf to be, nor ſo great a *Heretick* as the *Inquiſitors* have made him. I tell you this the more particularly, that you may upon it judge how far you are to believe the account that the *Inquiſitors* may give of their proceedings againſt *Molinos*: ſince you may conclude from what was done to the *one*, what may be expected in all caſes that are brought before them. *Burrhi's* Story is in ſhort this: He is a Gentleman of the *Millaneſe*, who was born to an Eſtate of 8000. *Crowns* a year: In his youth he had travelled, and had got into his head the Notions of the *New Philoſophy* and

of *Chimiſtry*: ſo at his return to *Milan*, he began to propagate the *new Philoſophy*, and to form a Conference upon thoſe matters: the *Prieſts* it ſeems ſuſpected, that there might be ſomewhat under this ſo he was put in the *Inquiſition*, but nothing could be made out againſt him, he was let out: after that he went and ſtayd for ſome years in *Germany* and *Holland*; and it is very probable that he might have expreſſed himſelf concerning the *Courts* of *Inquiſition*, as a man that had no great opinion either of their Juſtice, or of their Mercy. And as he has gone into all the high pretenſions of the *Chimiſts*, ſo it is probable enough that he has talked of matters of *Religion* in that Myſterious unintelligible *Jargon*, that is uſed almoſt by all the men that are of the higheſt Elevation of *Chimiſtry*, but chiefly by *Paracelſus* and *Vant Helmont*. In ſhort, ſome Accuſatious were given in to the *Inquiſitors* againſt him, who complained of him to the *Emperor*, and had ſo much credit in his *Court* that he ſtrained his power to the utmoſt, and ſeiſed on him, and ſent him to *Italy*, where thoſe good *Fathers* were reſolved not to give him a ſecond occaſion of boaſting, that he had got ſafe out of their hands: ſtrange things were objected to him; and as is pretended, they were proved againſt him; as that the *B. Virgin was God equal with the Son; and that the H. Ghoſt was incarnate in her*,

her, as well as the Eternal Word was in her Son: that the three Perſons in the Trinity were the firſt, *the* ſecond, *and the* third *Heavens: that the Son was from all Eternity diſcontented with the Father, for not making him equal to him: that the Conſecrated Hoſty had in it the Body of the Mother as well as that of the Son: and that the putting the pieces of it together in the Chalice, demonſtrated the Union between the Mother and the Son.* Theſe Opinions were all proved againſt him: tho he proteſts that he never thought of them, yet he was forced to abjure them in the year 1668. and was upon that condemned to perpetual Impriſonment; he continued in the Priſon of the *Inquiſition*, till within theſe five or ſix years, that the Duke *d'Eſtrees* being ſick, procured an Order for having *Burrhi* to come and treat him; and ingratitude to *Burrhi*, who cured him, he got his Priſon changed to the Caſtle St. *Angelo*: where he now entertains himſelf with *Chimical* Proceſſes. It is indeed very probable, that he had provoked the *Inquiſition*, by ſpeaking ſeverely and reproachfully of them, and this was all his Crime, unleſs another *Article* againſt him might be his *Eſtate*: for of his 8000 *Crowns* a year, there is but 3000. left him; for the good *Fathers* have had the Charity to take 5000. to themſelves: and his 3000. is ſo eat up by them, thro whoſe hands it comes to him, that he has not 1500.

Crowns a year payed him: and from this you may ſee what credit you ought to give to the *Proceſſes*, the *Articles*, and the *Abjurations* that are made before that *Court*.

If inſtead of that Zeal which animates them againſt *Hereſy*, they would purge their own *Church* of thoſe Diſorders, which they themſelves acknowledg to be corruptions, they would ſooner bring themſelves again into credit. The ſcandalous *Pictures* that are in many *Churches* of *Italy*, are things that might deſerve their care, if they would turn it to that hand. Is it not a ſhameful thing, that there has not been a great *Maſter* in *Painting* who has not put that Complement on his *Miſtreſs*, as to paint her for the *Virgin*? ſo that the moſt celebrated *Madonna's* of *Italy* are known to have been the *Miſtreſſes* of the Great *Painters*. The *Poſtures*, the *Looks*, and the *Nakedneſs* of many of the *Church-pieces*, are Monſtrous Indecent things. The great deſign of the *Cupulo* at *Florence*, is ſuch a Repreſentation of *Vice*, that all that can be preſented by a defiled Imagination, comes ſhort of what is to be ſeen there: and tho' the *Scripture* ſpeaks but of one Apparition of the *Holy Ghoſt* in the ſhape of a *Dove*; one ſhall find this Dove on the Head, at the Ear, and the Mouth of I know not how many of their *Saints*; and as one finds in many *Pieces*, that their *Maſters* have reſolved to perpetuate their

their own Amours in them, ſo Amours are every day managed by the ſame methods: for while I was at *Rome*, I diſcovered an Intrigue between a *Fryer* and a *Nun*, by two *Pictures*, that were drawn for them: the *Fryer* was drawn as a S. *Anthony*, and the *Nun* as a S. *Katherine of Siena*: theſe they were to exchange, and ſo to feed their paſſion under this diſguiſe of Devotion.

But to return to Indecent *Pictures*, there is nothing more ſcandalous than the many various Repreſentations of the *Trinity*, which muſt needs give to all *Jews* and *Mahometans* as well as to *us*, that paſs for *Hereticks*, a ſtrange horror to a *Religion* that ſuffers thoſe odious Reſemblances, that give ſuch groſs Ideas of the *Deity*, and of the *Trinity*: and that which is yet the moſt ſcandalous part of thoſe *Pictures*, is that the Repreſentation of *God the Father* is often diverſified according to the caprice of the Painter; and he is to be ſeen in the Habits of the ſeveral *Orders* of that *Church*, and indeed both Features, Hair, Habit, and Poſtures, have all the diverſity in them that is neceſſary to feed an *Idolatry*, that is as Extravagant as it is groſs.

The Picture of the B. *Virgin*, with the *Order* of the *Capuchins* under her Petticoat, is not very apt to raiſe Chaſt Idea's in thoſe who look upon it. In ſhort, whereas the Rule o the Antient *Architecture* of *Churches*, was to

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be low and dark, which was thought the moſt proper, for the Recollection of a man's Faculties, and by conſequence for *Devotion*, is now quite altered: and a great *Cupulos* with a beſt Illumination, are neceſſary to ſhew the beauty of thoſe rich Peices, which would be beſt in *Churches* built as dark as the Antient Bnes were.

I confeſs, thoſe Pictures are charming things, if they were any where elſe than in *Churches*: but the pleaſure they give, does ſo poſſeſs a man that begins to underſtand them, that it will kindle any thoughts in him, ſooner than devout ones. I will not here let my rn carry me into a Subject that muſt needs o$_e$all my thoughts on fire; and ſpeak of the b at *Pieces* of *Painting* that are in *Italy*, and g the many *Maſters* that it produced in the laſt Age: who as they were ſuch Extraordinary men, ſo the lived within the Compaſs of one Age, as if the Perfection in that amaſing Art had been to dye with them, as well as it was born with them; this, I ſay, would make one think, that there are Revolutions and Aſpects in the Heavens that are favourable or croſs to Arts or Sciences: and that then, the moſt favourable Aſpect for *Painting* that ever was, produced thoſe aſtoniſhing performances. For tho the great decay of Learning that is every where, may be reaſonably enough reſolved in this, that whereas in the laſt

laſt *Age* many great *Princes* were either *Learned* themſelves, or at leaſt they made it a Maxim to protect and encourage *Learning* but this having at laſt grown to an exceſs of Rudneſs and Pedantry, and Princes becoming generally extream Ignorant, it came to paſs for a piece of breeding, to ſay nothing that was beyond their pitch, or that ſeemed to reproach their Ignorance: and thoſe who could not hide their Learning, were called *Pedants*: and pedantry was repreſented ſo odious, that Ignorance being the laſieſt as well as the ſureſt way to avoid this, all men took that very naturally; and when other methods are as effectual to raiſe men to the higheſt preferments either of the *Barr* or of the *Pulpit* as true Learning or reall Merit, few will chuſe the long and tedious, and often the moſt uncertain way, when the End that they propoſe to themſelves, may be certainly compaſſed by a more effectual and eaſier one, Flattery and Submiſſions are ſooner Learned and eaſier practiſed by men of low and mean ſouls, than much hard and dry ſtudy: thus, I ſay, the decay of *Learning* is very eaſily accouted for, in the *Age* in which we live: but as for the Art of *Painting*, it is ſtill in ſuch eſteem, and great pieces go ſtill at ſuch vaſt rates, that if the Genius and capacity for it were not loſt, there is encouragment enough ſtill to ſet it a going!

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but I leave this ſubject not without putting ſome conſtraint on my ſelf; for who can think of ſuch Wonderful men as *Correge*, *Michael Angelo*, *Raphael*, *Paulo Veroneſe*, *Iulio Romano*, *Carrache*, *Palma*, *Titian* and *Tintoret*, without feeling a concern at every time that he reflects on the Wonders of their pencils: St. *Luke's* pretended work, and even the ſuppoſed performances of *Angels*, are ſad things ſet near their *pieces*. One, whoſe thoughts are full of the Wonders of that *Art*, that are to be ſeen in *Florence*, goes into the *Annunciata*, and ſees not without Indignation, that adopted *picture* of the *Virgin*, which, as the fond people there believe, was finiſhed by an *Angel*, while the *Painter* that was working at it, and that could not animate it as he deſired, fell aſleep, who as ſoon as he awaked, ſaw his piece finiſhed. This fiction of the *painters*, to raiſe the credit of his *picture*, is ſo well believed at *Florence*, that the *preſents* made to enrich the *Altar* and *Chappel*, where it ſtands, are Invaluable: & yet after all, the *Angel's* work is ſtill no better than the common *painting* of that time: and that *Angel-painter*, was but a bungler if compared, to the great *Maſters*. In a word, what can be thought of humane nature, when in ſo refined a place as *Florence*, ſo courſe an Impoſture has been able to draw to it, ſuch an Ineſtimable ſtock of Wealth.

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All these things are so many digressions from my main subject, which was, to shew you how much matter the *Inquisitors* might find, if they would use any exactness in redressing those Abuses which they themselves will not defend in common conversation: and yet tho the smallest thing, that seems even at the greatest distance to go against their Interest, is lookt after with a very watchful care; yet the grossest of all Impostures, that proves profitable to them, is much encouraged by them.

The fable of *Loretto*, is so black and so ridiculous a piece of Imposture, that I never saw a man of sense, that cared to enter upon that subject. I was once in Company where I took the liberty to propose two modest Exceptions to it: the one was, that about 200 *years* after the rest of the Angelical Labour in carrying about that *Cottage* is pretended to have fallen out. *Vincent Ferrier*, whom they believe a great Saint, not only says nothing of its being then in *Italy*, but says expressly, that it was then in *Nazareth*, and that many *Miracles* were wrought about it. *Antonin* of *Florence*; who is also the most Impudent Writer of *Legends* that ever was, says not a word of it some Ages after they say that it was at *Loretto*. All the answer that I had to this was, that it was no Article of Faith but whether it was true or false, the Devo-

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tion of the People was ſtill entertained by it: and this, they ſaid, was as much meritorious, tho founded on a Fable, as the giving of Charity to one who is believed a fit object, but yet is indeed a Cheat, is acceptable to God: and thus he who gives upon a good inward motive, will be rewarded according to the Diſpoſition of his Mind, and not according to the Truth or Falſehood of the *Story*, that wrought upon him. I durſt not preſs this matter too far: otherwiſe I would have replied, that how excuſeable ſoever the Superſtition of Ignorant *People* may be, yet this does not at all juſtify the Cheat that the *Church* puts upon her ſo eaſily deluded children. The truth is, the *Romans* themſelves have not ſuch ſtiff notions of all the points of *Controverſy* as we are apt to Imagine: this makes me remember a converſation that paſt ſome years ago, between an *Abbot* & one of our *Clergymen*, that was then a Governour to a *Perſon* of Quality, that in his *Travels* ſtayed for ſometimes at *Rome*. The *Abbot* ſeeing the *Governour* was conſidered as a man of *Learning*, deſired to be Informed of him, what were the *Points* in difference between the *two* Churches: ſo the Governour told him, that *we* had our *worſhip* in a known tongue; that we gave the *Cup* in the Sacrament; that we had no *Images*, and did not pray to *Saints*: all this did not diſturb the *Abbot*, who ſaid, that theſe were only diffe-

different *Rites* and *Ceremonies*, which might be well enough born with: when the other added, that we did not believe *Tranſubſtantiation* nor *Purgatory*, the *Abbot* ſaid, theſe were the ſubtilties of the School: ſo he was very gentle till the *Governour* told him, that we did not acknowledge the *Pope*; then the *Abbot* was all on fire, and could not comprehend, how men could be *Chriſtians*, that did not acknowledge Chriſts *Vicar*, and S. *Peter's Succeſſor*: and it is very plain at *Rome* at this day, that they conſider the *Converſion* of *Nations*, only as it may bring in more profit into the *Datary Court*, and raiſe the value of the *Offices* there; for when I ſeemed amaſed in converſation with ſome of them, to ſee ſo little regard had to the *Ambaſſadour* of *Eng.* to every thing that he propoſed; they told me plainly, that perhaps the Angels in Heaven rejoiced at the converſion of a ſinner upon the pure motives of perfect Charity, but they at *Rome* looked at other things. They ſaw no *profit* like to come from thence; no *Bulls* were called for, and no *compoſitions* like to be made; if thoſe things ſhould once appear, then an *Ambaſſadour* from thence would be treated like the penitent Prodigal, eſpecially if he were a little leſs governed by the *Jeſuites*, who were believed to have managed that *Ambaſſadour* a little to abſolutely: and here it will be no unpleaſant digreſſion if I tell you

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the true reaſon that retarded the *Promotion* of the Cardinal *d'Eſté* ſo long.

The *Pope* himſelf ſaw what the *Uncle* of this *Cardinal* did at *Rome*, in P. *Alexander* the 7*ths* time, upon the buſineſs of the *Corſis*, and the affront that was put on the Duke of *Crequy*, which made ſo much noiſe. That *Cardinal* being then the *Protector* of the *French Nation*, offered firſt to the D. of *Crequy*, to go with him, accompanied with 500 Men, that he knew he could raiſe in *Rome*, to the Palace of *Dom Mario Chigi*, and to fling him out at the window: but the D. of *Crequy* thinking that ſuch a revenge went too far, the *Cardinal* himſelf went accompanied with his 500 Men to the *Palace*, and expoſtulated the matter with the *Pope*, and demanded Reparation; and when the *Pope* put it by in ſome general anſwers, he preſt him ſo hard, till the *Pope* threatned to pull his *Cap* from him, but he anſwered, *that he would clap a Head-piece on it, to defend it, and that he would never part with that, till he had pulled the Tripple Crown from his head*; This was vigorous, and the *Cardinal* had a mind to perpetuate the memory of it, for he made himſelf be drawn with a *Headpiece* by him, his hand pointing towards it, which I ſaw at *Modena*; and it is plain by their way of ſpeaking of this matter, that they were proud of it. The preſent *Pope* being at that time a *Cardinal*, ſaw this diſorder, and ſo he was reſolved never

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to raiſe one of that *family* to the *Purple:* yet the earneſt and repeated Inſtances from *England*, overcame him at laſt.

But now again I return to that from which I have digreſſed ſo often, which is the work that the *Inquiſition* might find in *Italy*, even without departing from any of their received Principles. That ſcandalous Impoſture of the *blood* of *S. Januarry* at *Naples*, that ſeems to be firm & dry in the *Vial*, and that diſſolves and moves as it is brought near his Head, which is ſo firmly believed by all the bigots there, muſt needs give an Indignation to all that love Truth, when they ſee ſuch groſs Deceptions put upon the World. I will not take upon me to ſay how it is managed; but nothing is more eaſy than the ordering of this matter may be. For if that *Vial* be filled with tinctured liquor, the *Vial* being put in Ice and Salt, will freeſe in an Inſtant; and it being again in the air, may return very quickly to its former ſtate, ſo that there is no need of any great skill for the conducting this matter: and it is ſo much their Intereſt, who have the keeping of this pretended *Blood*, to keep the ſecret very religiouſly, that it is no wonder if it is not diſcovered. He indeed who either doubts of it, or would adventure to diſcover it, muſt reſolve to go and live ſome where elſe than in *Naples*, where this paſſes for the chief Glory, as well as the greateſt bleſſing of their *City*: and the *people* there are ſo

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extreamly credulous, and the *Prieſts* are ſo very Inſolent, that this has appeared of late in ſuch Inſtances, that if the *Viceroy* of *Naples*, were not both a very extraordinary man, and moſt exceſſively eſteemed and beloved there, he could not have ſtood his ground in the *Diſpute* which is now on foot. and, of which tho all the *Gazettes* make mention, yet I may perhaps tell you ſome particulars, that may be new to you, for I was in *Naples* while this matter was in its greateſt heat.

The buſineſs of the *Eccleſiaſtical Immunities*, is cartied ſo high here, that the *General* of the *Horſe*, who is by birth a *Flemming*, had almoſt felt it to his coſt; there were two under him, that had quarrelled, but were made Friends; and one of theſe meeting the other ſome days after that, he embraced him with all the ſhews of Friendſhip, but having a *ſtileto* in his hand, he managed it ſo fataly, that under all the appearances of tender Embraces, he killed him out-right, and preſently he took Sanctuary in a *Church*, that was hard by; the *General* hearing of this, reſolved he would make an Example of the *Murderer*: but not daring to drag him out of the *Church*, he ſet a Sentinel to the Doors, reckoning that hunger would ſoon force him to come out: and tho the *Prieſts* that belonged to the *Church*, carried him in ſome Proviſions, yet that could not ſerve him long. But the General was forced to diſcharge the

the *Sentinels*: for he was Informed, that an *Excommunication* was coming out againſt him; for diſturbing the devotions of thoſe that went to the *Church*; and he knew that if the *Excommunication* ſhould be once given out, no body would ſo much as talk with him or come near him after that: ſo he would not run that riſque: and this *Aſſaſſinate* had a fair occaſion given him to make his eſcape: this was a good Eſſay of the Zeal for the *Immunity* of *places*. Another fell out about the ſame time near *Leghorn*, in which the ſacredneſs of exempted *perſons* was aſſerted in a manner that was no leſs ſcandalous; a *Prieſt* was ſeiſed on, for a moſt horrid Crime, either a *Rape* or a *Murder*, I do not remember which: but he who had no mind to be taken, defended himſelf; and ſhot one of the *Sbiri*, upon which the reſt run away. So he apprehending that a ſtronger party would be ſent, that would be too hard for him, went and retired into a Wood, with his Fuſee; and ſome being ſent to find him out, he had *ſhot* ſix or ſeven of them; yet after all the ſacred Character was like to ſave this execrable man; for while I was at *Leghorn* I was told that an *Excommunication* was coming out, againſt all that ſhould violate the *Eccleſiaſtical Immunities* in his Perſon: and no doubt the *Great Duke* will give way to this: for he is ſo entirely delivered up to his *Prieſts*, and is become ſo ex-

exceſſively ſcrupulous, that to deliver himſelf from thoſe Troubles of Conſcience, which many things, in the Adminiſtration of the *Government* are apt to give him, he has found out an eaſy receipt; which if all other *Princes* can be brought to follow, it will be very happy for their *Miniſters*. He then conſiders, that the only ſure way to be Innocent in the Conduct of Affairs, is not to know them at all: but to devolve them entirely on his *Miniſters*, who do all, without ſo much as communicating matters to him.

But the *Viceroy* of *Napels* is not ſo very tractable in thoſe matters, as appears by the vigour with which he has ſupported the *ſecular Tribunal* againſt the Invaſions of the *Eccleſiaſtical Court*. That which gave the riſe to the diſpute was a *ſute* that was between a *Layman* and a *Churchman*, before one of the *Judges* of *Naples*, who decided in favour of the *Layman*; upon which it was pretended, that this was a Violation of the *Immunities* of the *Church*: ſo the *Judge* was *Excommunicated*; And upon it no body would willingly appear before him, or ſo much as ſpeak to him, ſo terrible a thing is that Thunder there: but the *Viceroy* has ſhewed on this occaſion, that firmneſs that has appeared in all his other Actions: and has alſo received *Orders* from *Spain* authoriſing him to keep his ground. The *Judge* is not only maintained in what he has done, but continues ſtill to ſit on the *bench*, all people are forced

forced to bring their cauſes before him; & his Sentences are executed with reſolution. This Contempt put on the *Eccleſiaſtical* Cenſures by a *Miniſter* of *Spain*, and at a time in which the *Pope* is ſo much in their *Intereſts*, is a little Extraordinary. But the affront that the *Viceroy* put on an *Auditor* of the *Nuntio's*, was yet much more provoking, for it was managed with a particular care to make the Scorn very wounding as well as it was publick. The *Nuntio* is believed to do ill Offices in this matter; and his *Auditor* was known to be a man of *Liberties*; it was found out that he went often to a *Bordello*; the *Viceroy* therefore gave order to watch him ſo carefully, that the *Sbiri* ſhould be ſure to find him in ſuch circumſtances, as ſhould make his ſhame very Conſpicuous: ſo he was taken, and carried before the next *Judge*: the thing was laid before hand, and the *Judge* refuſing to medle in it, the *Sbiri* (a ſort of men like our *Bailiffs*) carried him to another, and ſo made the round of all the *Judges* in *Naples*; and every one of them refuſing to meddle with the *Auditor*, the *Sbiri* let him go, when the matter was made ſufficiently publick, by their carrying him about to ſo many places. The *Nuntio* complained of the Violation of the Rights of a *Publick Miniſter*, eſpecially of ſo ſacred a one. But the Reparation that the *Viceroy* made, was a redoubling of the Affront: for he ordered the *Sbiri* that had taken

taken the *Auditor*, to be carried about all *Naples* with an *Inſcription* writ in Capital Letters, both on their Breaſts and on their Backs, mentioning the Crime for which they were thus lead about, *which was their having diſturbed the Nuntio's Auditor in his pleaſures.*

You will eaſily imagin that this was conſidered at *Rome* as a moſt outrageous Affront; and indeed the *Pope* has carried the matter of the *Regale* in *France* ſo very far, that it is hard to tell to what a degree this breach in *Naples* may be alſo carried: for tho the *Pope* is moſt exceſſively ignorant in all thoſe Matters, yet he has another Quality, that is the only thing that is great in him, and that would indeed become him very well, if he had a little more Knowledg to govern it: and that is, *that he is the wilfulleſt man alive*; and his temper is fearleſs enough to make him ſhut his Eyes upon all Danger.

It cannot be denied, but it is the Intereſt of the *Pope*, as he is a *Temporal Prince*, to be of the ſide that is now the weakeſt, and that needs his ſupport the moſt: and therefore it is no wonder if he is ſo favourable to the Crown of *Spain*, and the Houſe of *Auſtria*: but after all, his carrying the buſineſs of the *Regale* ſo far, againſt ſo great a *King*, and a *King* that has merited ſo much from that *Church*, by his zeal againſt *Hereticks*, is ſome-

ſomewhat unaccountable: After all the Havock, that has been made both by *Princes* and *Popes* of the true Liberties of the *Church*, and particularly after that ſhameful Bargain that was made between them in the *Concordate*, it has a very ill grace to ſee a *Pope* make this the ſubject of ſo great and ſo long a Diſpute; and that the factious Clamours of a few ill-natured and angry *Prieſts*, ſhould have been ſo much conſidered, as to interrupt the good underſtanding of the *Courts* of the *Vatican* and *Verſailles*. All this flowed from the ill opinion that the *Pope* had of the *Jeſuites*, which being known in *France*, the *Janſeniſts* thought it was high time for them to recommend themſelves to the *Court* of *Rome*, in hopes of mortifying the *Jeſuites*: yet they could not with any decency carry the *Papal Authority* high, after they had with ſo much force both of reaſon and learning, depreſſed it as they had done: ſo they betook themſelves to the firſt thing that offered it ſelf, that they knew would be very acceptable in *Rome*, which was the aſſerting the *Liberties* of the *Church*, and the diſputing the *Kings* Impoſing the *Rights* of the *Regale* (that is, the mean profits of *Biſhopricks*, and the *Collating* to *Benefices* without *Cure*, during the Vacancy) on the four ſouthern *Provinces* of *France*. I will not ſay more of a matter that is ſo well known, only I will tell

you, what a *Doctor* of the *Sorbon* ſaid to me upon this ſubject; I found he did not believe the *Pope's Authority* more than I did my ſelf; and yet he was one of thoſe that indirectly oppoſed the *Articles* of the *Clergy*, and the condemnation that was paſt on the Biſhop of *Strigonium's* Cenſure of thoſe *Articles*; for his Authority and Learning gave a great turn to that matter: ſo when I ſeemed amaſed at this, that a man of his Principles, had acted as he had done upon that occaſion, he told me, he had no other Conſideration before him in that matter, but to mortify the *Clergy* of *France*, and to maintain the Dignity of the *Sorbon*. It was not long ſince that in the Diſpute about *Janſenius's* matter, they had made the *Pope* not only *Infallible* in matters of *Right*, but of *Fact*: and now becauſe the *Pope* was not in the Intereſts of *France*, the diſpute of *Infallibility*, and of the Councils of *Conſtance* and *Baſil*, were again ſet on foot; all which would be given up, and the *Pope* would be conſidered *Infallible* to morrow, if he were once more in the Intereſts of *France*; & the *Clergy*, who had neither learning nor vertue, but made up all Defects, by a ſlaviſh Obſequiouſneſs, would be then as forward to magnify the *Infallibility*, as they are now to depreſs it.

How far the *Pope* will embroil himſelf in this new buſineſs of the *Franchiſes*, I do not know: he has expreſſed a great ſteadineſs in it;

it; and the truth is, *Rome* is now ſo ſunk from what it was, and the *Franchiſes* are ſo conſiderable a part of the City, that their being covered from the *Execution*, both of Civil and Criminal *Juſtice*, is a moſt horrible Diſorder: and it ſeems reaſonable enough, that as in all other Courts, there is nothing now under the *Ambaſſadors* Protection, but that which is within his Gates, ſo the ſame Regulation ſhould be made in *Rome*; where the extent of thoſe priviledged Places is very great: yet after all, if the *French Ambaſſador*, that is now on his way thither, has poſitive Orders to maintain them, and has mony enough to liſt men, if the matter goes on to a more obſtinate Diſpute; It will be no hard matter for him to raiſe ſuch a Revolt in *Rome*, that neither the *Popes Guards*, nor thoſe in the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, will be able to ſubdue it: and if this matter goes on ſo far, the *French* will very probably cut off all *Annates*, and find a ſhorter way of granting of *Bulls* within the *Kingdom*. It is ſaid, that while ſome have repreſented the apparent Inconveniences of a Rupture with *France* to the *Pope*, and that he was in no condition to reſiſt that mighty Power: He anſwered, *that he would ſuffer Martyrdom in maintaining the Rights of* St. *Peter*. It muſt be confeſſed, that there was ſomething in this ſaying that was more Magnanimous, than prudent. And in-

deed the *Popes* way of treating with *Ambaſſadors*, has ſomewhat in it that comes nearer the ſimplicity of the Fiſhermen, the more modern Politicks. His dry Anſwer to the *Ambaſſador* of *E.* when he threatned him that he would leave *Rome*, and go home, if he were not better uſed; *Lei e Padrone*; *You are Maſter of that as you pleaſe*; had an air in it that I ſhould have been much pleaſed with, if it had fallen on any other than on the *King's Miniſter*.

His Conduct of the *Revenue* is an unaccountable thing; for if there is not a vaſt *Treaſure* laid up, or a moſt prodigious deal of *Wealth* ſecretly conveyed to his *Family*, it is not to be imagined what has become of all that *Revenue* that he has raiſed, in which the Income is ſo vaſtly diſproportioned to the expence, that the moſt prying men do not know what is become of it. The War with the *Turks* has not coſt him ſo much as is believed; on the contrary, many think that he has got by it; and that the *Taxes* which he has laid on the *Clergy* of *Italy* amount to more than he has laid out upon it: It is certain, it has not coſt him very much. He retrenched all Expences to ſo great a degree, that even the publick *Charities* were leſſened: for in *Lent*, there is a weekly Charity of a *Julio*, or a ſix pence, to all the *poor* that come and ask it: and the poor commonly brought their Children with them,

them, ſo that they got as many *Julio's* as they brought *Children*; but the *Pope* limited this, that no Charity ſhould be given to any under ſuch an Age, as I remember it was below ten years old. The Adminiſtration of the *Revenue* is indeed the only thing that he underſtands, and in which he employs all his thoughts: and it was believed, that the true Secret of the greateſt number of the *Cardinals* in the laſt *Promotion*, was the Advantages that he made by the ſale of the *Offices* which they held, and that fell to the *Pope* upon their Advancement; out of which it was thought that he gained above a *Million*: and upon this I will tell you, what I have learned concerning the averſion that two of the *Cardinals*, *Taia* and *Ricci*, expreſſed to the *Purple* in the *Promotion* that was made five year ago; this was magnified in ſeveral Books, that were printed out of *Italy*, as ſomewhat that ſeemed to approach to the beſt Ages of the Primitive Times, when men refuſed to accept of ſo great a *Dignity*, that brought them within a ſtep of the *Supream Elevation*: but the truth of this matter was, they were both men of *Fourſcore*, and not like to live long; as they both died within a year of their Preferment: they had very good imployments, which they had bought, and which by their accepting the *Purple* were to fall into the *Popes* hands: beſides that, the new *Dignity* was not

to be entred upon without a great Expence: ſo all this being conſidered, the vertue of refuſing ſo chargeable a *Dignity*, in men that were more concerned for their *Families*, than for that ſmall remnant of life that was before them, was not ſo very Extraordinary.

But ſince I am upon the diſcourſe of *promoting* of *Cardinals*, I will tell you a remarkable Inſtance of a *Promotion*, that I do not remember to have met with in any *Book*; and the Dignity of the *Perſon* and of the *Family* deſcended from him makes me think it worth the relating; and the rather becauſe I had it from no ordinary perſon, but from one of the exacteſt men in *Rome*, and who has taken the greateſt pains to be well Informed in the *Modern Hiſtory*. I had ſeen ſeveral pictures of *Clara Farneſe*, for there are more than one of them in the *Paleſtrina*: ſo I knowing nothing concerning her, asked her ſtory, which in ſhort was this: that ſhe was P. *Paul* the 3*d's Siſter*, and the perſon to whom he owed his *Cardinals Cap*, and by Conſequence all that followed upon it, tho he rewarded her ill for it; for he *poyſoned* both *her* and his *Mother*, that he might have all their Wealth; their *Father* was a poor man, that went about ſelling *Saucidges* and ſuch ſort of ſtuff. *Clara* was married young, and was ſoon a *Widdow*; ſhe was a lovely woman, but no Extraordinary beauty: her *Brother* was bred to Letters, and was one of thoſe

poor

poor *Churchmen*, that was looking about on all hands where he might find a Patron; when of a ſudden his *Siſters* charms and her artifices together raiſed him to a height, to which he was far enough from pretending at that time. On a great occaſion *Clara Farneſe* was ſo near P. *Alexander* the *6th*, and was ſo much in his Eye and in his thoughts, that he ordered one that was about him, to enquire who ſhe was, and where ſhe lived: Inſtruments upon ſuch occaſions are never wanting to great Perſons: and notwithſtanding the *Popes* great Age, yet his Vices hung ſtill ſo cloſe to him, that he could have no quiet till *Clara Farneſe* was brought him. She reſolved to manage her ſelf on this occaſion, and to raiſe her price all that was poſſible, ſo a *Cardinals Cap* to her Brother was both asked and granted: a promiſe of it was made at leaſt, upon which ſhe came and attended on the old leud *Pope*: yet when the next *Promotion* came to be in agitation, the Propoſition for *Abbot Farneſe* was rejected by *Ceſar Borgia* with ſcorn; he had never been a ſlave to his word, and he had no mind that his *Father* ſhould obſerve it on this occaſion.

The way of a *Promotion* is this, the *Pope* ſettles the *Liſt* of the *Cardinals*, and writes down all their names in a paper with his own hand; and in a *Conſiſtory*, when all other buſineſs is ended, he throws down the *Paper* on the Table, and ſay's to the Cardinals, *habetis Fratres*;

you have now ſome Brethren. One of the *Secretaries* upon that takes up the Paper, and reads the *Names* aloud; and the *Sbirri* are at the door, and as ſoon as one is named, they run for it, to ſee who ſhall be able to carry the firſt news of it to the party concerned.

Upon this occaſion, the *Pope* after he had concerted the *Promotion* with his *Son*, writ down all the names. *Clara Farneſe* was in great apprehenſions for her *Brother*, ſo ſhe being to paſs that night with the *Pope*, riſe when the old man was faſt aſleep, and ſearched his Pocket, and found the *Paper*, but her *Brothers* name was not in it: then ſhe ſet her ſelf with great care to counterfeit the *Popes hand*; and writ her *Brothers name* the firſt in the *Liſt*: next morning ſhe kept the *Pope* as long in bed as was poſſible; till word was brought him, that the *Conſiſtory* was ſet, and that the *Cardinals* were all come: for ſhe reckoned that the leſs time that the *Pope* had for being dreſt, there was the leſs Danger of his looking into his *Paper*: So without ever opening it, he went into the *Conſiſtory*, and according to Cuſtom, he threw down the *liſt* on the Table: but to the great ſurpriſe of him, and of all that were upon his Secrets, the firſt name that was read, was that of *Abbot Farneſe*; and it ſeems the *Pope* thought it better to let the matter paſs, than to ſuffer the true ſecret of the buſineſs to break out. It is well that the Doctrine of the Intention,

tion, does not belong to the Creation of *Cardinals*, otherwise here was a Nullity with a Witness. Thus begun that long course of P. *Paul* the *third's* greatness, who lived above 50 *years* after this, and laid the Foundation of the Family of *Parma*, which he saw quite overthrown, his *Son* being assassinated in his own time; and both his *Grand children* having revolted against him, which, as was believed, precipitated his death, tho he was then *Fourscore*.

But now I return to the present *Pope*; for I have writ you a very loose sort of a *Letter*, all made up of digressions. His aversion to the *Order* of the *Jesuites* is very visible; for he takes all occasions to mortify them; and every thing that is proposed to him, thrives the worse for their sakes, if he believes they are concerned in it; which was given by all at *Rome*, as the true reason of the cold usage that the *Ambassador* of *E.* found there. Indeed the *Pope* is not singular in the hard thoughts he has of that *Order*: I never saw an Indifferent man in all *Italy*, that was of another mind: they do generally look upon them as a Covetous, Fraudulent, Intriguing, and turbulent sort of people; who can never be at quiet, unless they *reign*: who are men of no Morals that will stick at nothing that may raise the Wealth and Power of their *Order*: and at *Rome* they do not stick to say, that all the con-

cerns of the *Roman Catholick Religion* muſt needs miſcarry in *E*because the *Jeſuites* are ſo much in credit there. And indeed the Extravagantly vain *Letters* that they write to *Rome* out of *England*, are ſuch contextures of *Legends*, that ever ſince I ſaw them, I know what value I ought to put on their *Letters* that come from the *Indies* and other remote Countrys; for when they take ſo great a Liberty when the Falſehood is ſo eaſily found out, what muſt we think of the *Relations* that come from places at ſuch a diſtance, that they may lie with more aſſurance and leſs hazard of diſcovery.

The *Letter* that was writ in *February* laſt from *Liege* to the *Jeſuites* at *Friburg*, of which ſo many *Copies* were given, that it got to the Preſs at laſt, was a good Inſtance of their Vanity, and of the ſmall regard that they have to a *Prince*, that has as they give out, ſo much for them. Their repreſenting the *King*, as ſo concerned in the *Intereſts* of their *Order*; that he eſpouſed them all as if they were his own, that he was now become a *Son of the Society*, and that he was received into a communication of the Merits of the *Order*, (tho a ſhare in their Treaſure upon Earth were a much more conſiderable thing, than of their Treaſure that is Inviſible,) Their ſetting out he *Kings Zeal* for their *Religion*, in ſuch high terms, that they ſay he is reſolved to die a *Martyr* rather than not to ſucceed in his deſign

ſign *of changing the Religion, and converting the Nation*: and this at a time when the *King* was declaring himſelf ſo much for *Liberty of Conſcience*: and their affirming that the *King* is become bigotted to ſo high a degree, as to refuſe to ſuffer a *Prieſt* to kneel down and do the duty of a *Subject* in kiſſing his Hand, and to tell him, *that he himſelf ought rather to kneel down, and to kiſs his Hands*: all theſe are ſuch Extravagant ſtrains, that by the boldneſs of them it is Evident, that they were writ by a *Jeſuite*, and my *Copy* came to me from ſo good a hand, and ſo near the ſource, that how many Falſehoods ſoever may be in that *Letter*, I can aſſure you, it is no Impoſture, but was really *writ* by thoſe of *Liege*.

In a word, all the *Romans* have ſo very ill an Opinion of the *Jeſuites*, that as ſoon as any piece of *News* comes from *England*, that is not favourable to their Affairs, one finds all, from the higheſt to the loweſt, agree in the ſame ſhort reflection; *Thus it muſt ever be, where the Jeſuites have ſuch a ſhare in the Councils.* A man long practiſed in the *Court* of *Rome*, told me, it was impoſſible it could be otherwiſe, for all the chief men of that *Order* are kept teaching in their *Schools*, till they are almoſt forty *years* of age; and by that means Pedantry, a diſputatious and Imperious humour, and a peeviſh littleneſs of ſoul, becomes natural to them, ſo that an

Emi-

Eminent man here ſaid to me, *It was Impoſſible that matters could go better than they did in* E. *as long as the Morals and the Politicks of the* Jeſuites, *and the Underſtandings and Courage of the* Iriſh; *were ſo much relied on.*

But beſides all theſe General Conſiderations, there are ſome things in the Conſtitution of the *Order* of the *Jeſuites* that give thoſe at *Rome* reaſon enough to be on their Guard againſt them. There are two things peculiar to this *Order* that makes it very formidable; the one is, that thoſe who have made the fourth *vow* are capable of no Preferment, unleſs it be to be *Cardinals*, and then they are indeed capable of *Biſhopricks*. In moſt of the other *Orders*, every man has his own private Intereſt, and his particular views; ſo that they are not always looking after the concerns of their *Order*. But a *Jeſuite* can receive no Honour but from his *Order*, therefore he Conſecrates himſelf to it, and advances the *Intereſts* of the *Society* with all poſſible zeal, knowing that there is no other way left him to advance his own *Intereſts*, but this. So that Hope being one of the great Springs of humane Nature, a *Jeſuite*, who hopes for nothing but from his *Order*, muſt be extreamly devoted to it. Beſides this, a *Jeſuite* fears nothing but from his *Order*: They have not a *Cardinal Protector*,

tector, as the other *Orders* have, to whom an Appeal lies from the ſentence of the *General* of the *Order*: but the *Jeſuites* are a body more ſhut up within themſelves; for the ſentence of the *General* is definitive, and can never be reviewed, no *Appeal* lying from it: whenſoever a *Pope* comes that dares mortify them, he will open a way for *Appeals*, for till that is done, the *General* of the *Jeſuits* is the moſt Abſolute and the moſt Arbitrary Soveraign that is in the World.

All theſe things concur to Unite almoſt all the ſeveral *Intereſts* in *Rome* againſt this *Society*, which yet is ſtrong enough to ſupport it ſelf againſt them all: they have the *Miſſion* generally in their hands; for the Congregation *de Propaganda*, pays a ſmall penſion of 20 *Crowns* to all the *Secular Prieſts* that are on the *Miſſion*, whereas the *Jeſuites* bear the expences of their own *Miſſionaries*, to whom they allow an 100 *Crowns* a year: & ſo thoſe of the *Propaganda* being willing to be eaſed of a charge, accept of the *Miſſionaries* that the *Jeſuites* offer them: and they find their account in this. Their *Miſſionaries* are powerfully recommended, ſo they are quickly received into *Families*, eſpecially where there are young *children* to be bred up, or *Eſtates* to be managed: for in theſe two lies their ſtrength: but they never forget their *Order*, for which they are as ſo many *Factors* every where;

where: and they draw vaſt Preſents from all places to the *Houſe* that returns them their Appointments; whereas the poor *Secular Prieſt* muſt make a ſhift to live out of the ſmall allowance that he has from the Congregation *de Propaganda fide*, and out of what he can raiſe by his *Maſſes*. Therefore there is nothing that they deſire ſo much; as to ſee *Proteſtant States* that give a Tolerance to *Popery*, grow once ſo wiſe as to ſhut out all the *Regulars*, and above all the *Jeſuits*; and to admit none but *Secular Prieſts*: for the former, as they are ſo many *Agents*, to return all the wealth that they can poſſibly draw together, to the *houſe* to which they belong, ſo they are united together in one Body, under a moſt ſtrict Obedience to their *General*, which may be as great a prejudice to the Peace and Security of a *Country*, as the other is to its Wealth and Abundance: on the other hand, the *Secular Prieſts* are generally good natured men, who are only ſubject to their *Biſhop*, and that have no deſigns upon the *Government*, nor the Concerns of any *Houſe* that is in *Forreign Parts* lying upon them: ſo that ſince thoſe of that Communion have the full exerciſe and all the Conſolation of their Religion from *Secular Prieſts*, even thoſe in *Rome* it ſelf wonder at the Error of *Proteſtant States*, who have not Learned long ago to make this difference in the Toleration that they allow: And one that has

has been almoſt 50 *years* in the moſt refined practices of the *Court of Rome*, ſaid to me with a very ſenſible concern, *how happy would we here reckon our ſelves, if we could have a Toleration of our Religion allowed in* England, *tho it were with an Eternal Excluſion of all Regulars and Jeſuites*? and added, that if he ſaw good grounds for making it, he himſelf would go and carry the Propoſition to thoſe of the *Propaganda*.

And now I am ſure, I have rambled over a great Variety of matter, and have made a ſhift to bring in to one place or other of this *Letter*, a great many particulars, that I could have hardly brought out in an exactneſs of Method, without a much greater compaſs of words, and a greater ſtifneſs of form: but I thought it was more natural, and by conſequence, that it would be more acceptable to you, to make them follow one another, in an eaſy and unforced contexture. I have diſcourſed all theſe matters often over and over again ſince I came into *Italy*: but I have read very little concerning them; therefore there may be many things here, that I mention becauſe they were new to me, that perhaps are no news to thoſe that are much more Learned than my ſelf. I have told you all that I could gather upon theſe ſubjects from the wiſeſt and worthieſt men that

I found here: I have writ of all matters freely to you, becauſe I am in a Country where freedom of diſcourſe, in matters of *State* eſpecially, is practiſed in its utmoſt extent.

I have yet matter for another long *letter*, in which the matters of *Religion* will have no ſhare; for I will end all theſe in this: and therefore there is one piece of the *Superſtition* of *Lombardy*, that affected me too ſenſibly, not to lead me to beſtow a ſevere cenſure upon it. I went through that Country in *October* and *November*, and was often in great diſtreſs, becauſe it was not poſſible to find a Glaſs of *Wine*, that could be drunk, all being either dead or ſour. At *Parma* I waited on an Eminent *Perſon*, and lamented to him the miſery of *Travallers*, ſince no *Wine* was to be found that could be drunk: he told me, the *Natives* felt this much more ſenſibly than *Strangers* did, with whom it was ſoon over, but they were condemned to ſuffer that every *year*; and tho he himſelf had *Vineyards*, that produced much more Wine than he could conſume, yet he could not be Maſter of a good Glaſs of *Wine*, for a great many *Months* of the year; ſince all the *people* were poſſeſſed with this *Superſtition*, that it was Indiſpenſably neceſſary to mix it with *Water* in the *Caſk*, that by this means it drunk *dead* or *ſour* for ſo great a part of the

year:

year: and all that could be ſaid could not beat this out of the heads of thoſe that dreſſed their *Wine*: but he added, that the *Prieſts*, who confirmed the *vulgar* in this Conceit, had found a Device to excuſe their own *Wine* from this hard fate: for they ſaid, it muſt needs be kept unmixed ſince in the *Sacrament* the *Wine* muſt be pure, and is then only to be mixed with *Water*; and thus in all their *Cellars* good *Wine* is to be found, where there is not a drop any where elſe that can be drunk: one would think that this is to abuſe the Weakneſs and Credulity of the *People*, a little too groſly, when they condemn all the *laity* to drink ill *Wine*, whereas they themſelves drink it pure, which is felt more ſenſibly by the *Laity*, than the depriving them of the *Chalice*, and the engroſſing it to the *Prieſt* in the *Sacrament*. Yet the *Exciſe* that is laid on the *Wine* in *Florence*, has taught the Inhabitants a point of Wiſdom, that thoſe on the other ſide of the *Appenins* are not capable of; for the *Exciſe* being raiſed upon all their *Wine*, the *People* who have no mind to pay *Exciſe* for *Water*, keep their *Wine* pure, ſo perhaps ſome ſuch ſeverity in the Government in *Lombardy*, may likewiſe reform them in this piece of abſurd *Superſtition*, which I felt too ſenſibly with all the effects that naturally follow the drinking of ſour Liquor, not to inſiſt upon it with ſome more than ordinary concern.

But

But since I am upon the point, of the *Arts* that the *Convents* have to live easy, I will end this *Letter* with an account of a *House*, that was very Extraordinary, which I saw in my way to *Italy* thro' *Bavaria*; *Etal*, an Abby of *Benedictines*, that by its Foundation is bound only to maintain an *Abbot* and 25 *Monks*. It was founded by *Lewis* Duke of *Bavaria*, that was *Emperor*: the Building is not answerable to the Endowment, which is so vast, that they keep a *stable* of 150 *Horses*, which is indeed one of the best in *Germany*, the Horses are of great value, and well kept: they hunt perpetually, and live in as great an abundance of all things as the *Duke* of *Bavaria* himself can do; and yet these are *Religious Men*, that are dead to the World.

I cannot forget to tell you a very beautifully diversified *Prospect* that we had at *Burgo*, a little *Town* in the Hills of *Trent*, as we looked out at Window, we saw before us a lovely *Meadow* in all the Beauty and Pride of the Month of *May*: a little beyond that was a rising *Bank*; all covered over with *Trees* in their full Verdure: beyond that the ground rises higher, and the Trees had not yet put out their Leaves, and things lookt dead and dry, as after Harvest: and beyond that there was a huge Hill, all covered on the top with Snow: so that where we saw in one prospect all the seasons of the Year: upon which

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one of the Company made this Reflection, that if any *Painter* ſhould in one *Landskip*; mix all theſe things, that were then in our Eye, he would be thought a Man of an Irregular Fancy, whoſe deſigns did not agree with Nature; and yet we had them all then before us. I will make no Excuſes nor Compliments: for thoſe things do not mend matters, and therefore I ſend you my *Letter*, ſuch at it is, juſt as it as grown under my Pen: and ſo *Adieu*,

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POSTSCRIPT.

I find I have forgot to mention one very extravagant piece of *Devotion*, to which I was a Witneſs at *Rome*, on the 17*th* of *January* which is St. *Anthony*'s day, that was the great *Father* of the Monaſtick Orders, whoſe Life is pretended to be writ by St. *Athanaſe*; all *Horſes* and other Beaſts of Burden are believed to be in an eſpecial manner under his *Protection*: and the *Monks* of his Order, have a Houſe near St. *Maria Maggiore*; thither all the *Horſes*, *Mulets* and *Aſſes* of *Rome*, and all round the *City*, are brought that day to the door of the *Church*, where ſome *Monks* ſtand with a Broom in *Holy Water*, and ſprinkle it upon them all: many *Dogs* and *Lambs*, and other

favo-

favorite *Animals*, are alſo brought to ſhare in this *Aſperſion*: which is believed to have a moſt ſpecial vertue: the force of this hallowing is believed to be ſuch, that if any ſhould fail to bring his *Horſes* thither, all the Neighbourhood would look on thoſe that have no Portion in it, as accurſed *Animals*, upon whom ſome unlucky Accident were hanging; which is ſo firmly believed, that none would hire a *Horſe* or a *Mulet*, that had not been ſo ſprinkled. So that from the Popes *Horſes* down to the pooreſt Man in *Rome*, all are brought thither; but this is not all, the profitable part of this piece of Folly is, that every one brings a Preſent; the richer ſort ſend Purſes of *Money*; ſome give great Wax-Lights, all ſtuck full of *Teſtons* (a piece of 20 Pence) the Poor bring either ſmaller pieces of *Money*, or Preſents of *Wine*, *Oyl*, *Bread*, or ſuch things as they can afford: but in a Word, no Man comes empty; ſo that this is the Market-day of thoſe *Monks*, in which for ſome Gallons of *Water* and *Salt*, they get more Preſents, than would ſerve to maintain them for ſeven Years: they quickly convert all that is not neceſſary for them into *Money*; and by this means they are vaſtly rich. When I ſaw all this, I could not but think that Men muſt become firſt Beaſts themſelves, before things of this kind could paſs upon them: but ſince I have added

added this in a *Poſtſcript*, rather than give my ſelf the trouble to make it come in pertinently into my *Letter* I will add another particular that is writ me from *Rome* the ſixth of *October* 1687.

I am told, that Men are now more puzled in their thoughts with Relation to the Buſineſs of *Molinos* than ever. It was viſible that his *Abjuration* was only a pretended thing; for in effect he has abjured nothing: his party believe, that they are very numerous, not only in *Rome*, *Italy*, *Spain*, and *France*, and in all theſe parts of the World, but that they have many followers even in *America* it ſelf; one ſees now in almoſt all the *Churches* in *Rome* ſome of them *Praying* in Corners, with their Hands and Eyes lifted up to Heaven, and all in Tears and Sighs; which is no ſmall Trouble to thoſe who thought they had quite routed them: but find they are not ſo much quaſht as it was thought they would have been by the mock Triumph that was made upon *Molinos*. Nor do they believe a word of thoſe Reports that are ſpread of his Leudneſs: they ſay, there was no Proof ever brought of it; and that there are many *thouſands* in *Rome* of both Sexes, that converſed much with him, who have all poſſible reaſon to conclude, that all theſe Stories that were given out concerning him, are impudent Calumnies, ſet about only to blaſt *Him* and his

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Doctrine: and the Truth is, this ſeems to be much confirmed by the *Bull* that condemns his Books, and his *Doctrine*; in which no mention is made of his ill *Life* and *Hypocriſy*, which had been very probably done if the matter had been well proved: ſince this would not only have ſatisfied People, with relation to him, but would have very much Confirmed the Accuſations of thoſe horrid *Opinions* that are laid to his Charge, Which had appeared with much more Evidence, if it had been found that his *Life* had agreed with thoſe *Tenets*: for though it had not been a juſt Inference to conclude him guilty of thoſe things, becauſe they were charged on him in the *Bull*, yet one may reckon it almoſt a ſure Inference, that he is not guilty of them, ſince the *Bull* does not tax him for them.

A THIRD LETTER, Concerning some of the STATES OF ITALY;

And of their present Interest and Policy.

SIR,

I Threw into my former *Letter*, all those general *Reflections* on the State of *Religion*, and the Maxims of the *Romans*, concerning it, that I could gather together during my Stay at *Rome*. Now I quit that Subject, and shall at present en-

entertain you with ſome *Political Obſervations*, which will be ſo much the more acceptable, becauſe I fancy they will be new to you.

But before I go ſo far as *Italy*; I will give you an account of a very curious *Salt-work*, that I ſaw in my way to *Italy*, at *Sode* near *Francfort*. It belongs to Mr. *Malapert*, and has been wrought above 60 Years; but the preſent Maſter of it, as he is a Man of great worth, ſo he is very ingenious, and has much perfected that, which was managed at a much greater Expence before he undertook it. There riſes at the foot of ſome little *Hills*, which produce a very good *Wine*, a *Spring of Water*, that is ſo very little Brackiſh to the taſte, that one will hardly think it poſſible to fetch much *Salt* out of it; yet it has ſuch a taſte of *Salt*, that there was room for Induſtry to prepare this *Water*, ſo that without ſuch an expence in Fire as ſhould eat out the profit, it might turn to a good account; which Mr. *Malapert* ſeems to have carried as far as is poſſible. The *Meadow* that lies in the Levil with this *Spring*, is impregnate with *Salt*, *Iron*, *Nitre* and *Sulphur*: but Salt is that which prevails: *Firſt* then, a Pump is put upon this Spring, which is managed by a Water-mill, and throws up the Water about fifteen Foot high; and then it goes by a Pipe into vaſt *Machines*, that are made to receive it.

There

There is a great piece of ground Incloſed, in which there are 24 vaſt *Cheſts* or *Ciſterns* for the *Water*, in two *ſtories*, 12 in a ſtory, the one juſt over the other; they are about *ſeventy* foot long, *twelve* broad, and *two* deep; over every one of theſe, there is a roof of boards, ſupported by wooden Pillars, of 12 foot high which covers them from *Rain*-water, but yet the water within them is in a full expoſition to the Sun; thoſe roofs are hung with ſtraw, upon which ſome that manage the work, are often throwing up the *Water*, ſo that a great deal of the *phlegme* is Imbibed by the Straw, and the more fixed parts fall down: according to the heat of the Seaſon, this Evaporation of the watry parts, goes quicker or ſlower; there is a *Gage*, by which they *Weigh* the Water, and ſo they know how the Evaporation advances; it is of *Silver*, and is ſo made, that according to the weight of the *Water*, it ſinks in it to ſuch a depth; & ſo by the degrees markt upon it, they know how heavy the *Water* is: according then to the heat of the ſeaſon, and the progreſs of the Evaporation, they let the *Water* out of one *Ciſtern* into another, by a *Pipe*, and when it has paſt thro' the 12 that are in the upper ſtory, then it is conveyed down by *Pipes* into the 12 that are below, and in them all they continue ſtill to throw up the water upon the Withs of Straw, that are over head.

In a word, this *Evaporation* diſcharges the

Water of ſo much of its *Phlegm*, that the ſame quantity of water, that weighed one ounce when it was drawn from the *Spring*, weighs ſix ounces in this laſt Cheſt: and all this rolling about of the Water from Cheſt to Cheſt laſts ſometimes not above twenty *days*; but if the ſeaſon is only moderately hot, it will be longer a doing; ſometimes it will not be done in a *month's* time: after that the *Water* is brought to a very conſiderable degree of *Saltneſs*, it is conveyed into two great *Cauldrons*, that are 13 foot long, ten broad, & $3\frac{1}{2}$ deep; under which there are vaſt *Furnaces*, wherein a moſt violent *Fire* of 11 or 12 hours continuance, the *Water* receives its laſt Evaporation; & when that is done, the *Salt* which is become thick, but is ſtill moiſt, is taken up in Baskets of Willows, and placed about the wall of the *Furnace*: and ſo the humidity that remains in it drops out, and it is brought to its laſt degree of perfection: out of it, a *Tyth* is payed; of which the *Elector* of *Ments* has one half, and the *City* of *Francfort* the other. This *Salt* is exceeding good and pleaſant to the taſt. It is much ſolider and more like the *Portugal Salt*, than like our *Newcaſtle ſalt*. It ſerveth very well all the uſes of the *Kitchin*, and *Table*: but it has not ſtrength enough to preſerve things long. There are vaſt quantities made of it in hot and dry Summers: for the *Cheſts* are always kept full: and thus all

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Franconia is furnished with *Salt* of its own production at very moderate rates; for there is so great a lessening of the Expence of the fire by this conveyance of the water through so many Chests, that it is afforded very cheap. This I thought deserved well that I should Interrupt the earnestness in which you be, to hear what I have to tell you concerning *Italy*, so that I hope you will not be ill pleased with it, especially if your curiosity after the History of nature is as great as it was.

I now go over in one step all the *Journey* that I made from hence to *Italy*, which is certainly the *highest* scituated Country in *Europe*: for as the *Rhine* and *Danube*, that rise in the *Alpes*, and run down to the *Ocean* and the *Euxine*, shews you that all that tract of ground to those Seas is a constant descent, so when one comes to the *Alpes*, either on the *French* or on the *German* side, he is a great many days in climbing up those vast *mountains*, but the descent on the *Italian* side is very Inconsiderable. This appears yet more sensible when one comes from *Turin*, where the ascent up Mount *Senice* is but a work of a few hours: and yet from the height of that *hill*, one is in a constant descent till he comes to *Lions*. I will not carry you about *Italy*, to tell you the remarkable things that are there; but will only tell you some particulars that made the greatest Impression on my self; and

which were not ſeen by Dr. *Burnet*.

In my way from *Parma* to *Mantua*, I paſt at *Guaſtale*, which is half way between them, 18 miles diſtant from both; where I ſaw a ſcene that ſurpriſed me. This *Town* is ſituated on the ſouthſide of the *Po*, at half a miles diſtance from it: It was a conſiderable branch of the Territory of *Mantua*, that was given off to one of the *Cadets* of that *Family*, and was ſetled in an intail to the *Heir male*. The beſt part of the Revenue of this ſmall *Principality*, was a Duty that was payed for all *merchandiſes*, that went or came upon the *Po*, which when the Trade of *Italy* was in a more flouriſhing condition than it is at preſent, was farmed for above Threeſcore thouſand *Crowns*. The ſituation of this *place* makes it yet much more conſiderable than it is in it ſelf; for as it lies in the neighbourhood of the Principalities of *Parma* and *Modena*, and is not far from the *Popes* Territory, ſo if this place is Maſter of the *Po*, by croſſing it, the detachments that may be ſent out from it are not only in the Territory of *Mantua*, but they may be alſo in a very few hours both in the *Milaneſe* and in the *Venetian* Dominion; ſo that *Guaſtale* in ſome reſpect may be eſteemed the *Center* of all the *States* of *Lombardy*. The Duke of *Mantua* married the Daughter of the laſt Duke of *Guaſtale*, who died in the year 1680. and his *Nephew* Don *Veſpaſiano Gonzaga*, who was then in the

the *Spaniſh* ſervice, was acknowledged to be his undoubted *Heir*: ſo he came and took peaceable poſſeſſion of his *Dutchy*: He was extreamly much beloved by his *Subjects*, and thought himſelf at quiet in the enjoyment of his new Dignity: but all this was ſoon overturned; for one came to him from the *Court of France*, to let him know; that that *Great King* could not be wanting to his *Ally* the Duke of *Mantua*, to whom *Guaſtale* belonged of right, his *Dutcheſs* being the Daughter and *Heir* of the late *Duke*, and that therefore ſince he had uſurped the juſt right of another, the *French King* warned him, that if he did not withdraw of his own accord, he would give order to put the D. of *Mantua* in poſſeſſion. It was to no purpoſe to argue againſt all this, and to ſhew the Meſſenger that *Guaſtale* was a *Fee* intailed on the *Heir male*, of which there had never been the leaſt diſpute: But reaſons taken from the equity of the thing, are ſeldom thought ſtrong enough to hold the ballance againſt reaſons of State: ſo the poor *Prince* being in no condition to reſiſt ſo powerful an Enemy, was forced to abandon his Right, and to withdraw, and he was again entertained by the *Spaniards*. For tho' there was a ſort of a *fortification* caſt about *Gauſtale* 50 or 60 year ago, yet as that was at beſt an Inconſiderable defence, ſo even that was now quite ruined.

ned. Upon his retiring there came a detachment of 300 Men from *Caſſale*, who took poſſeſſion of *Guaſtale*, and continue there to this day: but this had been no great matter, if it had not gone further: ſome years paſſed after the new *Duke* was driven away before the true deſign of this matter appeared. The world was firſt to be laid to ſleep. The *Town* it ſelf is compoſed of about ſix or ſeven thouſand *Inhabitants*; and ſo the ſmall *Garriſon* in it ſeemed of no great Conſequence, and was rather an Advantage than a prejudice to the *Town*; they were kept in very good order, and they payed punctually for every thing that they called for: only they brought the place into the Method of a *Garriſon*; for all muſt come in and go out of the *Town* only at one Gate.

But in the beginning of the year 1686. the myſtery of this matter begun to appear: for Mr. *du Pleſſis*, a French *Engineer*, came thither, under the pretence of repairing the old *Fortifications*, and deſigned a Noble and a Regular *Fortification*: It is to be a *Hexagone*, with all neceſſary Out-works; and there is a great *Splanade* that is to be made round the place, and all the houſes or trees that are within a conſiderable diſtance are to be beat down. In a word, the deſign is great, and will be executed in all the exa neſs of the *modern* Fortification; ſo that the advantage of the *ſituation*, will make it the moſt Important

place

place of *Italy*, and that which will bridle all *Lombardy*, and be able to put it all under Contribution upon every occaſion. The Works were begun in April 1686. and ever ſince they have kept 400 *men* conſtantly at work, upon the pay of a *Julio* a day: another year will go near to finiſh it. And yet tho here the juſteſt ground poſſible, is given to alarm all *Italy*, none ſeems to be ſo much as concerned at it. The *Venetians*, that have at all other times, valued themſelves upon their proſpect of Danger, even at the greateſt diſtance, either do not ſee this, or dare not own their fear. It is true, all this is carried on in the name of the D. of *Mantua*: but it is as certain, that tho it lies ſo near him, he has never been at the pains to go and ſee it: It has never been ſo much as once conſidered by his *Council*, nor is his *Revenue* in ſuch a condition as to bear ſuch an encreaſe of Expence: and yet it paſſes amo:g the people there, that this is a great ſtrength, that is to be made to keep the *French* out of *Italy*; and ſome *Prieſts* that are corrupted to ſerve the *French intereſts* promote this Fiction. If the *Venetians* look on till this is finiſhed, they will do very well to aſſure themſelves of their new Conqueſts in the *Morea*, for their Antient ones in the *Terra firma* of *Italy* will probably fail them very quickly.

All thoſe of the *Territory*, who know well that their *Princes* name is only made uſe of,

for the *fortyfying* this place, look on with great regret, while they ſee a Work advancing ſo faſt, that is to be a *Citadel* upon all their *Countrey*: of which an Ancient *Perſon* of *Quality*, that is there ſpoke to me with ſo much feeling, that he could hardly forbear weeping, when he ſhewed me that Yoak of Slavery under which they were falling. I ſaw, during my ſtay in *Mantua*, how much all the ſenſible people there, are concerned to ſee their *Prince* deliver himſelf up ſo blindly to the *French Intereſts*: they told me, that ſince his *childhood* he has been ſo beſet with the *Inſtruments* and *Agents* of that *Court*, that his Inclinations for them are become as another nature in him: he was not out of *Childhood*, when almoſt all his *Domeſticks*, and his *maſters*, both for *Languages* and *Armes*, were furniſhed him from thence. His putting *Caſſale* in the hands of that *Monarch*, was one good Evidence, and now the buſineſs of *Guaſtale* is another, to ſhew that they have gained ſuch an Aſcendant over his Spirit, and have Inſinuated themſelves ſo much into him, in all thoſe fatal hours of Liberty which he allows himſelf, that it is not thought he will ſtick at any thing that they demand of him, unleſs it be at his own going into *France*; to which he has been much ſolicited: but it is not ſo much as doubted, that if he goes once into that *Countrey*, he will never come out of it again. So he is

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not like to be wrought on so far; and if it were not for some such apprehension, it is like enough that he might undertake the Journey; for he does not love staying in his *Principality* so well, but takes pleasure to ramble about; and he devests himself often of the Ceremonies of his *Greatness*, that so he may take a freer career in those *Exercises* that he loves better than his *Affairs*: and a *Prince*, whose *Revenue* is none of the greatest, and whose expence is often Irregular, who has an active *Envoy* always near him, and who is ever ready to furnish him with *Money*, falls naturally into a great dependence on that *Court*.

Of this a very Extraordinary Instance appeared not long ago, in the Disgrace of the Marquisses of *Cannosse* and *Palliotti*: the first of these is his *Kinsman*, and has served him now for many years, with as much Fidelity as Affection; the second was *Captain* of his *Guards*, and *Governour* of the Castle of *Mantua* which commands the *Town*. These then had the Courage as well as the Fidelity, to lay before him the Ruin that he was like to bring upon himself as well as upon all *Italy*, by delivering himself up so intirely to the *French Councils*, and by putting them first in possession of *Guastale*, and now suffering them to *Fortify* it, which was in effect the delivering up of his *Principality*, and of all

his *People* to them; who looked upon themſelves as brought already under a *Forreign* Yoke: they alſo repreſented to him the danger of having almoſt no other *Domeſticks* but *Frenchmen* about him, who were all as ſo many *Spies* upon him, and upon all that were near him, and that were very exact in giving the *French Envoy* Mr. *Baumbeau* an account of every thing that he either ſaid or did. Theſe Demonſtrances made ſome Impreſſions on the *Duke*, and he promiſed to them to find out an effectual Remedy to all thoſe Evils: But this was not a ſecret very long; *Money* and *Spies* find out every thing; and it is poſſible that they who gave the *Duke* theſe faithful Advices might have been engaged to it, either by ſome Inſtruments of the Court of *Spain*, or of the Republick of *Venice*: yet the truth of this is not known, but the *French Envoy* made a ſhift to charge them ſo heavily, that he got them *both* to be made cloſe *Priſoners*; in this condition they were when I was at *Mantua*, and no body durſt ſo much as mention their Names, much leſs Interpoſe for them.

All the *Princes* of *Italy*, are as *Abſolute* in their own *Dominions*, and as much delivered from all the bonds of *Law*, as ſome greater *Kings* are, ſo their *ſubjects* are at their Mercy, both for their *Lives*, *Liberties* and *Eſtates*: and this is that from which one may take

take a ſure meaſure of the weakneſs of *Italy*. *Subjects* that retain ſtill all the due liberties of humane nature, and that are not under an *Arbitrary* but a *Legal* Government; fight for themſelves, as well as for their Prince; but if they are already as miſerable as they can be, ſo that a change may perhaps put them in a better condition, but can hardly put them in a worſe, they will not much concern themſelves in their *Princes* Quarrel, ſince they only fight for the continuance, if not for the encreaſe of their Slavery.

But now to return to the Duke of *Mantua*; the *French Envoy* has ſince that time ſtuck cloſer to him than ever; he indeed waits always on him, ſometimes acting like an Officer of his Houſhold, and at other times like the Governour of his Perſon: he made the tour of *Italy* with him this year, and waited on him to *Milan*, *Genoua*, *Florence*, *Rome*, *Naples* and *Venice*, where they paſſed the *Carnaval* together: and he took a moſt particular care that the *Duke* ſhould meet with none in all thoſe places, that might open his Eyes, to let him ſee the ruin that he is bringing upon himſelf; yet after all, one of his *Secretaries*, had ſtill the integrity and Courage to give him ſuch faithful Councels, as had been fatal to others: yet the *Duke* uſed him better than he had done the two *Marqueſſes*: for tho the *French Spies* diſcovered him likewiſe, yet, nothing

nothing could be done to hutt him in the *Dukes* good opinion, therefore it was resolved to take another method to tear so dangerous a man from him; so he being sent to negotiate some business at the *Court* of *Turin*, was often invited to go a Hunting, which he resisted for a great while, tho the *French Ambassador* pressed him much to it; at last he was overcome, but his sport was fatal to him; for he was seised on, and carried by a small *Party* sent from *Pignarol* as is believed. In short, he is in the hands of the *French*, and it is said in *Italy*, that he is clapt up in St. *Margarite* one of the little *Islands* in the *Mediterranean Sea*. This matter was at first highly resented by the *Duke*, but a little time will shew whether the caresses of the *Court* of *France* can soften him in this matter or not; for if they can lay him asleep after such an Attempt, then all persons will conclude that he is so much in their power, that none will dare to run the hazard of undeceiving him any more.

Those in the *Mountferrat* feel what a Neighbour *Cassal* is to them; that Imperious way of proceeding, without having any great regard to Justice, or to Contracts and Agreements, that is practised in *France*, begins to be felt here likewise; of which many smaller Instances were given me, but I will tell you two that were more remarkable; when the *Garrison* was first setled in *Cassal*, those of the

Mount-

Mountferrat held the price of their *Corn* so high, that it was hard to furnish the *Garrison* with *Bread*: so some of *Piedmont* undertook to supply them for two years at 21 *Livers* the *Ration*, and the bargain being made, they bought in great stores, and so they quickly filled their *Granaries*: upon this some in the *Mountferrat* came and offered to serve the Garrison at 14 *Livers* the *Ration*, upon which the other Bargain tho made as sure as any such contract can possibly be made, was broke, and the undertakers were ruined by it. The other Story was, that in order to the building the *Fortifications*, some *Masons* made a bargain at 32 *Livers* such a Measure, so they brought together a great number of Workmen, and were at work; when others came and offered to perform the work at 28 *Livers*, for which the others had 32 *Livers*, only they demanded a considerable advance, so the first Bargain was presently broken, to the great loss of the Undertakers, but the second undertakers, that had Money advanced them, found they had made a Bargain that was too hard for them to execute, so they ran away with the Money, to the great joy of the Country. He that told me this, said, that perhaps it surprized the *Italians*, who were not yet acquainted with such things; but nothing of that kind would seem extraordinary in *France*, which was so much accustomed to such a way of proceeding

that

that he gave me a particular account of ſo many, that he had reaſon to know well, as would fill a Book, but that which touched him moſt ſenſibly, was the *Fonds* that was made for an *Eaſe-India Company*, to which the *King* gave in *three Millions*, with this poſitive Aſſurance, that all the loſſes and damage of the *Company* ſhould fall on that *Stock*. This was a great encouragement to draw in Men to put *Money* into the Stock, and the *Court* ſet on the Project with ſo much Zeal, that *Letters* were writ to all the great Bodies and Towns of *France*, that were conſidered rather as Commands than Deſires; yet after all were engaged, upon the firſt occaſion the *Kings* three *Millions* were taken out of the ſtock, and the reſt were left to ſhift for themſelves.

But I muſt here give you an account of a very extraordinary Tranſaction in the *Court* of *Turin*, which is likewiſe thought an effect of the Authority that the *Councils* of *France* have likewiſe there. The Marqueſs *de Pianeſſe* the Son of him that ſet on the *Maſſacre* of the *Proteſtants* in the valleys of *Piedmont* 34 years ago, was in great favour with the late Duke of *Savoy*, but the war of *Genoa* miſcarried ſo in his Hands in the year 1672, that the *Duke* could never forgive him that matter; of which the Reſentments were ſo quick when he died, that he left a charge on *Madam Royale*, never to forgive him, nor to Imploy him

him: he upon his disgrace retired into *France* and was so well entertained there, that he had interest enough to procure a Recommendation from the *King* to the Dutchess of *Savoy* in his favour; but her excuse was so reasonable, being founded on the Orders she had received from the *Duke* on his Death bed, that there was no reply to be made to it; yet afterwards a *Nephew* of his, the Count *Massin*, was so happy in the *Dutchesses* favour, that he found he only wanted a Head as able as his Uncles was to support him in that Credit, which her favour gave him: and he was so much in the good graces of *Mad. Royale*, that he at last prevailed with her to bring his Uncle into the chief *Ministry*; he being certainly one of the ablest Men that belongs to that Court, and the pretence found to bring this about decently, was, that the *Dutchess* did secretly intimate to the *Court* of *France*, that she found it necessary to imploy the Marq. *de Pianesse*, and therefore she desired that the King would renew his recommendation of him, which being done, he was received into the *Ministry*, and had the chief stroke in all affairs: he placed another of his *Nephews* about the *Duke* and supported him so that he got very far into his favour, so Mr. *de Pianesse* observing great Disorders in the *Government*, and a great and useless Consumption of the Revenue, he instructed his *Nephew* that was about the *Duke*

so

ſo well, that he entertained the young *Duke* often upon theſe Heads, who was not then 15 year old: he ſhewed him how his *Country* was ruined by his *Mothers* ill Conduct, and was always ſuggeſting to him the Neceſſity of his aſſuming the *Government*, and putting an end to his *Mothers* Regency, which is a diſcourſe to which all Perſons of that Age have ſuch a natural inclination, that it was no wonder if both *Uncle* and *Nephew* came to believe that the *Duke* hearkned to the Propoſition: but the *Duke* thought it too hardy a thing to venture on it, without conſulting it with ſome wiſer heads; upon which Mr. *de Pianeſſes Nephew* told him, that he would bring his Uncle to him, who would conduct the matter for him; for tho he had great obligations to *Madam Royale*, yet his Fidelity to his *Prince*, and his affection to his *Country* overcame them all. This was a great Surpriſe to the *Duke*, who looked on Mr. *de Pianeſſe* as the Perſon in the World, that was the moſt obliged to his *Mother*, and that was the moſt in her *Intereſts*: and it was believed that the prejudice which this gave him, blaſted this whole deſign: yet he gave him ſeveral Audiences in ſecret, and had concerted with him the whole Method, both of aſſuming and managing the *Government*: which was carried on ſo ſecretly, that there was no ſuſpicion of the matter, till the day be-

before it was to break out, and that the *Duke* was to withdraw himself from his *Mother*: but then it was discovered, and the *Duke* to reconcile himself to his *Mother*, sacrificed the *Marq. de Pianesse* to her resentments: he was not only disgraced, and put in Prison, but his Process was made before the Court of *Parliament* of *Chambery*, for having endeavoured to throw the *Government* into a Confusion, by sowing of Division between the *Duke* and his *Mother*: yet he defended himself so well that he was acquitted, but he continues still a Prisoner: upon his Disgrace, there was none that durst oppose himself to *Mad Royale*, or offer any advices to the *Duke*, so that the *Court* of *Turin* was as absolutely governed by the Directions that were sent from the *Court* of *France*, as if the one had been the *Vassal*, if not the *Subject* to the other.

I will not prosecute this Discourse to tell you that which all *Europe* knows, of the designed March with the *Infanta* of *Portugal*, by which *Savoy* and *Piedmont* would have undoubtedly fallen into the hands of the *French*. The breaking of this, and the Dukes being *Poysoned*, as well as his *Father* had been, tho' his youth carried him through it, are things too well known, for you to be Ignorant of them. It is true, those who *Poysoned* the present *Duke*, have not been yet Discovered and punished,

niſhed, as thoſe were who poyſoned his *Father*. While I was at *Turin*, there was a diſcourſe, that the *Duke* was reflecting on the wiſe Advices that Mr. *de Pianeſſe* had given him, and that he intended not only to bring him out of *Priſon*, but to receive him again into the *Miniſtry*, which is confirmed to me ſince *I* left thoſe Parts. There is nothing more Viſible, than that the *Dukes* of *Savoy* have ſunk extreamly in this *Age*, from the figure which they made in the *laſt*, and how much ſoever they have raiſed their *Titular* Dignity, in having the Title of *Royal Highneſs* given them, they have loſt as much in the *Figure*, that they made in the affairs of *Europe*: and it is now almoſt too late to think of a Remedy: for *Pignerol* and *Caſſal* are two very inconvenient Neighbours. The truth is, the vanity of this *Title*, and the expenceful humour that their late *Marriages* with *France*, has ſpread among them, have undone them, for inſtead of keeping good *Troops* and ſtrong *Places*, all the *Revenue* goes to the keeping up of the Magnificence of the *Court*; which is indeed very ſplendid.

I will not engage in a *Relation* of this laſt Affair of the *Valleys* of *Piedmont*; for I could not find particulars enough, to give you that ſo diſtinctly as you may perhaps deſire it. *It* was all over, long before *I* came to *Turin*; but

but this I found; that all the *Court* there, were aſhamed of the matter: and they took pains upon Strangers, not without ſome affectation, to convince them that the *Duke* was very hardly drawn to it: that he was long preſſed to it by the repeated Inſtances from the Court of *France*; that he excuſed it, repreſenting to the Court of *France* the conſtant Fidelity of thoſe People ever ſince the laſt *Edict* of *Pacification*, and their great Induſtry, ſo that they were the profitableſt Subjects that the *Duke* had, and that the body of Men which they had given his *Father* in the laſt War with *Genoa*, had done great Service; for it ſaved the whole Army: but all theſe Excuſes were without effect; for the Court of *France* having broken its own Faith, that had been given to *Hereticks*, and in that ſhewed, how true a reſpect it pays to the Council of *Conſtance*, had a Mind to engage other *Princes* to follow this new Pattern of *Fidelity* that it ſet the World: ſo the *Duke* was not only preſſed to extirpate the *Heretick* of thoſe *Valleys*; but this Threatning was added, that if he would not do it, the King would ſend his own *Troops* to extirpate *Hereſy*; for he would not only not ſuffer it in his own Kingdom, but would even drive it out of his *Neighbourhood*. He who told me all this, knowing of what Country I was, added, that pehaps he would within a little while ſend the like Meſſages to ſome others of his Neighbours.

But

But to return to the expence that is made in the Court of *Turin*, I cannot forget a discourse that I had on this subject with a *German*, that was a Man of very good Sence: he told me that nothing ruined the *Empire* so much, as the great Magnificence which all the Princes affected to keep up in their Courts; and the Luxury in which they begun to live, which had much corrupted the antient Simplicity and Gallantry of that great and Warlike Nation. Not only the *Nobility*, but their very *Princes* travel into *France*; and are so much taken with the Splendor and Luxury that they see there, that they return home quite spoiled with the ill Impressions that this makes on them. They carry home with them *French-Cooks*, and all the contrivances of Pleasure that are so much studyed there, for the vitiating the minds of their *Countrey-men*; and by a vast Expence, they not only exhaust their *Revenue*, and ruin their Subjects; but they become so lyable to corruption; that if their Income at home cannot support their charge, both their *Princes* and their Ministers are reduced, as it were to the necessity of taking Pensions, from those whose Instruments have set on this Luxury, and whose Pensions will still support it, till the *Germans* are sufficiently enervated by the Feebleness into which all that Luxury must needs throw them, and then they will despise and trample upon

upon them, as much as they do now Court them. He who told me all this, added, that the little *Princes* of the *Empires*, affected now as much Splendor in their *Court*, as the *Electors* did in the last Age, and that the *Electors* lived now in as much Magnificence as Crowned Heads did formerly. But he carried his Observation further, and having staied some considerable time both in *Switzerland* and *Holland*, he added, that Luxury and Expence were wicked things even in *Monarchys*, but they were fatal and destructive when they got into *Common-wealths*; of which the History of *Lacedemon*, *Athens*, and above all of *Rome*, give proofs that are beyond exception; for there is a *Humility*, a *Sobriety* and a *Frugality*, that is so necessary for their preservation; that Kingdoms can be better maintained without Troops and strong Places, than Common-wealths without these. An Emulation in Expence, a vanity in Clothes, Furniture, or Entertainments, are so contrary to all the principles upon which a Common-wealth must be either built or preserved, that he said, he thought that the *Dutch* had lost more of their real Strength, by the Progress that this Pest makes among them, than by all the Expence of the *last War*, of which they complain so much; and indeed the men of Luxury and Vanity ought to be driven out of *Common-wealths*, as publick

Enemies to the Conſtitution of the *Government*: ſince an irregular Profuſion throws them into injuſtice and oppreſſion, and may in time expoſe them to the Corruption of other Princes, and diſſolves that induſtry and Application for affairs, by which only they can ſubſiſt; for of all the *Maxims* that relate to a *Common-wealth*, there is none more Indiſpenſable, than *that all Men regulate their Expence, ſo that it may not exceed their income*: and therefore he admired that part of the *Venetian* Conſtitution, that regulates the Expence of their *Nobility*; and concluded, that if the *States* and the *Cantons* did not put an effectual ſtop to the Progreſs of thoſe diſorders among them, the Figure that they had made in all the affairs of *Europe*, as it was in a great degree already Eclipſed among the *Cantons*, ſo would ſink apace even in the *States*, and this was all that was wanting, to ſet up a *new Monarchy* in the *Weſt*.

But I have got ſuch a trick of making digreſſions, that I find it is hardly poſſible for me to hold long cloſe to a point: there is ſomething in travelling, I fancy that makes a Mans Thoughts reel; and that leads his Pen to wander about as much as his Perſon does: yet I remember ſtill what drew me into all this Ramble; it was the buſineſs of *Guaſtale*, and the Court of *Mantua* that lead me ſo far about. I will ſay no more to you of the reſt of *Lombardy*

dy; nor will I enter into any description of *Tuscany*; but shall only tell you one thing, which both touched me much and pleased me extreamly.

I need not inlarge to you on the Poverty & Misery that appears in *Pisa*; where there remains yet enough to shew what they once were, and how much they are now sunk from what they were while they were a *Free State*: but all this is much more sensible, when one goes from hence to *Lucca*, which tho it has not the advantage of situation that *Pisa* has, yet is quite another sort of a place. The *Town* is well built, full of *People*, and as full of *Wealth*: the whole soil of this small *State* is well Cultivated and is full of *Villages*, all the marks and effects of *Liberty* appear, in an Universal Civility, & a generous and frank way of living: This is also the place of all *Italy* that is freest of all Crimes and Publick Vices; they value themselves upon nothing but their *Liberty*, of which the *State* is so Jealous, that the frequent change of their *Magistrates*, from two Months to two Months, and the Restraint in which they are kept while they bear *Office*, they being indeed honourable Prisoners all the while, have preserved that here, which so many of their Neighbouring *States* have lost: and as *Liberty* is engraven in *Capital Letters*, upon the Publick Buildings of this *State*, so it appears to be much deeper in all their

Hearts.

Hearts. One ſees the Effects of their *Wealth*, in all their *Publick* works, as well as in the *Fortifications* of this place, which are much better, and better kept than in any place I ſaw in *Italy*, except *Genoa*. There is on the inward ſide of the *Ramparts*, a noble *Plantation*, which is one of the beautifulleſt Decorations that belongs to this place; for as there is a conſiderable ſpace left void between the *Ramparts* and the *Buildings*, ſo this is planted all about the whole Town, with ſeveral rows of Trees, which afford pleaſant Walks, and a lovely Shade, which is no ſmall matter, where they are expoſed to ſo hot a Sun.

I come in the laſt place to give you an account of *Genoa*, which tho it is not able now to Compete as it did ſome Ages ago with the *Republick* of *Venice*, yet is ſtill a great Body and full of Wealth; one that comes out of the *Popes Patrimony* and *Tuſcany*, into this narrow border that lies between the *Hills* and the *Sea*, ſhould expect to find as great a difference between their abounding in People and Wealth, as there is between the ſoil of theſe two *Countries*: but he finds the change juſt contrary to what in reaſon he ought to expect: for all this edge of ſoil, is ſo full of *Villages* and *Towns*, and there is ſo great a plenty of *Money*, and of every thing elſe here, that it Amazes a *Traveller* no leſs, than the abandoned ſtate of thoſe other places. The

The numbers of the ſubjects of this *Republick*, are eſtimated to 330000 *Perſons*: which are thus reckoned up; In the Town of *Genoa* it ſelf there about 80000. *Perſons*: in the *Villages* and *Towns* that lie *Weſtward* there are 120000. and 30000. in thoſe that lie to the *Eaſt*: and the *Inhabitants* of the Iſland of *Corſica* are reckoned to be 100000. They keep two ſmall *Forts* in *Corſica*, one at *Calvi* on that end that looks to *Genoa*, and another at *Boniface* on the other end that looks to *Sardinia*; for they have let S. *Fiorenza* and ſome other ſmall places go to ruine. Theſe two are conſiderable in themſelves, and command two very good Harbours; yet as the building in *Calvi* are too much expoſed and too high, ſo *Boniface* is under a high Ground, that is within musket ſhot of it, and that commands it: theſe places are now in a ſad condition, ill kept, and ill furniſhed both with Men and Ammunition, ſo that they could not make a great Reſiſtance, there being but 150 men in *Calvi*, and 200 in *Boniface*; and it is believed, that the reaſon of their letting S. *Fiorenza* go to ruine, is, the Greatneſs of the Place, and the Expence of keeping it. The *Corſes* are extreamly brave, and have a Rage in their courage, that would be much more valuable and uſeful than it is if they were more governable, and could be brought under an exact Diſcipline: but they are unruly,

and as too apt to Mutiny, when they ſee no Enemy, as to fight well when it comes to that. The compaſs of the *Fortification* of *Genoa* is an amaſing thing; for it runs all along the hills in a compaſs of many miles, I was told it was above 15 mile, and in the Expence that has been laid out on this and on the two *Moles*, chiefly the new one, one ſees that this *State* ſpares nothing which Publick ſafety or the Convenience of Trade do require: theſe Publick Works has run the *Republick* into a vaſt debt; for they owe above Nine Millions of *Crowns* that are upon the *Bank*, beſides ſeveral other debts, in particular their great Debt to St. *Georges Houſe*; the greateſt part of the *Revenue* of this *State* ſtands engaged for the *Intereſt* that they pay, ſo that though the whole *Revenue* amounts to 1200000 *Crowns*, they reckon that 900000 *Crowns* of this is engaged, ſo that they have only three hundred thouſand *Crowns* clear for their whole Expence, which is ſo ſmall a matter, that it is no wonder if they are in a low condition, and can do little upon ſo narrow a fond: their *Revenue* riſes chiefly out of an *Exciſe* that falls ſo equally upon all the *Subjects* of this *State*, that they reckon that every man in *Genoa*, pays ſix *Crowns* a year to the *State*. The whole Land *Forces* of this *State* were but 3500 men, yet of late they have raiſed them up to 4000 men; of which 2500 are the Garriſon of the *City*, and

and there are 600 in *Savona*, which next *City* it self is the most Important place belongs to this *State*: the extent of the whole *Country*, that goes by the name of the *River of Genoa*, is 180 *miles*, of which 120 lie *West-ward*, and 60 lie *East-ward*; the *Mountains* that are almost Impossible are thought a sufficient Defence to cover them from their Neighbours in *Lombardy*, and from the Duke of *Savoy*, and the State of *Millan*. It is true, they have one *Fort* called *Gavi*, that is 25 miles distant from the *Town*, which has all the advantages of situation that are possible for keeping the Passes thro' the Mountains: but as they keep only a Garrison of 120 men in it, so all things in it are so neglected, that it could make no considerable Resistance to an Enemy that could attack it vigorously. In short, the strength of this *State* is very Inconsiderable, their *Souldiers* are ill Disciplined, their *Officers* want Experience, and they have no good *Engineers*; the New *Mole* is indeed a vast work, built out into the *Sea* seven fathom deep, and there are an hundred pieces of *Cannon* on it to defend the Old Mole; their Naval forces consist in six *Galleys*, and and two Men of *War*; but these are not kept as Ships of War, but are Imployed rather as Merchant-men, so that they not only bear their own Expence, but bring in an Overplus to the *State*.

Finale, which is the only Seaport that belongs to the State of *Millan*, is a poor abandoned *Village* without either Fortification or Garriſon, nor do the *Spaniſh Galleys* come there any more; but make *Genoa* it ſelf their Step, and Paſſage between *Spain* and *Millan*: ſo that an attempt upon *Genoa* was indeed the taking of all the *Milaneſe*, ſince the communication between *Spain* and it, being now thro' *Genoa*, whenſoever this Republick falls into the hands of the *French*, all the *Millaneſe* muſt fall of it ſelf, or rather indeed all *Italy*, muſt needs fall with it.

This is as far as I could underſtand it the outward force of *Genoa*: for it can expect little from its *Allies*, it having none at all beſide *Spain*: and the Slowneſs and Feebleneſs of that *Court*, are too viſible to give any *State* great Courage that has no other ſupport beſides this to depend on: As for their Neighbours in *Italy*, they have no ſort of Commerce with them; for they pretend to a degree of Precedence, equal to the *Venetians*: and to have the reſpect of a *Crowned Head* pay'd to them, and this cuts off all Communication with the other *Courts* of *Italy*, who conſider *Venice* in another manner than they do *Genoa*. As for *Spain*, they have all poſſible Engagements with it: many of the richeſt Families of *Genoa* have great *Eſtates* in the *Milaneſe*, and the other Dominions of the *King* of *Spain*;

Spain; ſo that they muſt upon their own account be true to the Intereſts of that Crown, and *Spain* is as much concerned in their preſervation as in any of its own Provinces, ſince it defends their Empire in *Italy*; ſo that *Genoa* and *Spain* are now inſeparably united to one another, by their mutual Intereſts.

But I come next to give you ſome account of the Inward ſtate of *Genoa*. It is known, that the Liberty was reſtored to them, by the moſt earneſt Interceſſion of that great *Captain*, and gallant Country-man, *Andreas Doria*, whoſe Statue, in remembrance of this, is ſet up in an open place in their *Town*: this was in the year 1528. yet tho' from that time they had their Government in their own hands, they were ſtill obliged to let a Squadron of the *Spaniſh Galleys*, ſtand in their *Arſenal*, who kept then a Fleet of about 80. *Galleys*, ſo that till *Spain* was ſo much ſunk from its former Greatneſs, that it was no more a Terror to any of its *Neighbours*, *Genoa* was ſtill in great dread of having their Liberty ſwallowed up by them, and therefore they do not reckon their entire Liberty but from the year 1624. or 1625. that they ſaw themſelves out of all Danger from any of their Neighbours: *France* was not then begun to grow ſtrong at Sea, and *Spain* was ſtrong no where; ſo that ſince that time, till

France began to put out great Fleets, and that they had ſuch a dreadful Neighbour of *Tholoun*, they were ſafe and at quiet: but they fell under the common Diſeaſe of all *Common-wealths*, when they are long in Peace, and while their Commerce flouriſhes; a Spirit of Inſolence and of Faction began to ſpread it ſelf over the whole *Town*, which was grown to ſuch a height, that in the *Project* that was offered to the *Court* of *France*, ſhewing the eaſineſs of this Conqueſt (of which I have ſeen the Copy) the Diviſions and Factions amongſt them are propoſed, as the chief ground upon which they founded the Probability of the ruin of that *Common-wealth*.

There are *three* ſorts of Perſons in *Genoa*, the *Nobility*, the *Citizens*, and the *Inferior People*. There are two Ranks of *Nobility*, the one is of the more *Antient Families*, the other is of thoſe who have been choſen and raiſed up to that Dignity of late. It is true, the Agreement that was made in the year 1576. between them, is exactly obſerved, by which the Government and the Publick Imployments are to be equally divided between them: but yet there is ſo great a height of Pride kept up among the Ancient Families, that they will not Inter-marry with the other, and think it a diminution to them, to enter into any Familiarity with them, and even to keep them Company: this on the other hand

kindles

kindles an Indignation in thoſe latter *Families*, when they ſee themſelves ſo much deſpiſed by the other. The Ancient *Families* have a neceſſary Dependence upon the *Crown* of *Spain*, by the great Eſtates that they have in their Dominions; but the others, whoſe Eſtates lie rather in Money, which either is in the Bank, or that runs out in Exchange or Trade, they are concerned in nothing but in the preſervation of their *Bank*, and by conſequence in their Liberty; for none can doubt but that if they fell in the power of another *Prince*, the Debts on the *Bank* would be but ill pay'd. Thus the *Nobility* ſtand divided into two Factions, which diſcover their Animoſities to one another upon very many occaſions: for *Publick Imployments* are ſought after here, with as much Intrigue as elſewhere. I will give you only one Inſtance of this, becauſe it is both very refined, and it related to that *Doge*, whoſe Government was ſo unhappy both by the *Bombarding* of *Genoa*, and by his own going to *Verſailles* to ask Pardon. He himſelf was a Man of a quiet temper, that did not aſpire; but his *Wife* could not be ſatisfied till he was *Doge*, and ſhe *Dogeſſe*: ſo ſhe ſet ſo many Machines at work, that after the ſeveral tours, that the matter made in the many *Ballottings*, it came to the fixing of the laſt *three* out of whom the *Doge* was to be choſen: and her Husband

was one of them; but there being one of the three, of whom ſhe was very apprehenſive, ſhe engaged one of her Friends, to ſeem ſo aſſured of his *Election*, as to lay conſiderable wagers with ſeveral of the *Electors*, who were likelieſt to favour him, that he ſhould be choſen: now they having a greater mind to win their Betts, than to promote their Friend, gave their *Votes* in favour of him, that was upon that made *Doge*.

The 2*d* body in *Genoa* is that of the *Citizens*, who ſeem to be extreamly weary of the Inſolence of the *Nobility*; and there are many among them, that think themſelves no way Inferior to them, neither in the Antiquity, nor in the Dignity of their *Families*. They do alſo complain of a great Injuſtice done them by the *Nobility*; for in the agreement made between the *Nobility* and the *Citizens*, in the year 1528. one *Article* was, that every year *ten Citizens* ſhould be according to their merit received into their body. It is certain, that if this had been obſerved, the *Nobility* of *Genoa* had become by this time ſo common, that this would have ſunk its dignity extreamly: but inſtead of doing this *yearly*, it is now done but once in 30 *years*: ſo the *Citizens* complain much, that this Encouragement and Recompence of *Merit* is now withdrawn. The *Nobility* pretend on the other hand, that by that Agreement, they are only

only enabled to make an *Annual* promotion, but that they are not obliged to it: and I was told, that the Original *Record* of that Agreement, could not be found now; and no doubt it has been deſtroyed by the Order of the *Senate*. In ſhort, the *Citizens* have ſo great an averſion to the *Government*, that it was generally thought that they would eaſily be prevailed on to ſhake it off, and to throw themſelves rather into the Armes of another *Prince*, who would certainly have very ſoon trampled upon them all equally; for it is too common a thing, to ſee in all thoſe Inteſtine *Factions*, that angry and ill-natured men, conſider the laſt Injury, more than all other things: and are ready to ſacrifice all to their Reſentments: and are ſo intent upon their *Revenges*, that often they will not look into the Conſequences of what they do, but go on, which way ſoever the Anger of the *Faction* drives them: and thoſe who are wiſe enough, to make their own Advantage of thoſe Quarrels, and that are dextrous enough to manage them artificially, make commonly thoſe *parties* take their turns in uſing one another ill, in which they know how to find their account: and as this obſervation holds often in *Colder Climates*, ſo in a *Country* where revenges are very much ſtudied and gratified, no wonder if this was much relied on. The third rank is of the *Tradeſmen* and Rabble, who have their chief

dependance upon the great *Nobility*: but they are a Vicious and diſſolute ſort of *People*, as any are in the world. And indeed all *Genoa* is ſo extreamly corrupt, ſo Ignorant, and ſo brutal, and ſo little acquainted with the true Notions of *Government*, that here is a *Common-wealth* degenerated to ſuch a degree, that it cannot reſiſt a conſiderable ſhock. The *Subjects* are exceſſively Rich, tho the *State* is Poor: and this appears both in the Magnificence of their *Buildings*, which is beyond Imagination, and in the great *Wealth* that is in their *Churches* and *Convents*, which ſeemed to me to be beyond what is in *Venice* it ſelf.

A ſenſible man that I knew there told me, that as there was among them a ſort of Impunity to all Kind of Vice, ſo their groſs Ignorance made them Incapable to conduct their *State*; for while their *Wealth* blew them up, with that Pride that it commonly produces in mean Souls, and when their Intrigues brought them into a conſiderable ſhare of the *Government*, they ſatisfied themſelves with carrying on the Intereſts of their own *Cabal*, and depreſſing thoſe that oppoſed them, without opening their minds to ſo great a thought, as that of correcting or ſecuring their *Common-wealth*. They neither had Heads nor Hearts capable of a vigorous Defence: and they knew nothing of what was doing abroad; but contented themſelves with

with minding the Intereſt of their *City Factions*. He added, that when a *Common-wealth* fell once into this Diſeaſe, it was in a much worſe ſtate, than any to which the Rigour even of an unhappy War, could reduce it: as a man whoſe Vitals are Inwardly corrupted, is in a much worſe condition, than he that has received many Wounds; Nature may bring him through the one, tho' he had loſt ever ſo much blood; whereas it muſt ſink under the other: ſo all the miſchief that could befal a *Common-wealth* could hardly deſtroy it, if it retain'd the Inward vigour of its firſt *Maximes* and *Conſtitution*: and he did not ſtick to ſay, that as high as the *States of Holland* were now in holding the *ballance of Europe*, if their *Towns* fell once into eſtabliſhed *factions*, if *Learning* ſunk among them, ſo that their *Magiſtrates* grew Ignorant, chiefly of the *Affairs* of *Europe*, if they came to have a *Magiſtracy*, that had not the right underſtanding of *War*, and the Courage with which ſome practice in *Military* matters Inſpire men, and if their *Wealth* ſwelled them up to an Unreaſonable Pride, and that men riſe more upon the little Intrigues of *City Factions*, than upon true merit; whenſoever, he ſaid, the *States* fell into this diſeaſe, then the ſtrength of that *Republick* was gone; and tho' they might ſubſiſt after that longer or ſhorter, according to the Conjuncture of Affairs, yet one might reckon them

them to be in their decline, which muſt end in a moſt certain Ruine to them, either within doors, or from abroad.

I have now told you enough to let you ſee how reaſonable a Project it was to ſend a *fleet* againſt ſo feeble a *body*; which without moſt prodigious Errors in the management, could not have miſcarried: and this is ſo clear, ſo confeſſed by every man in *Genoa*, that one rather Wonders how they found a way to conduct it ſo ill. The *man* that formed the whole project was *Steven Valdyron* of *Niſmes*, and a *Proteſtant*, who is a perſon of a very good Underſtanding, and having lived above 12 years in *Genoa*, had time enough not only to raiſe a very good Eſtate out of his Trade, but to ſee into the whole Feebleneſs of that *Government*. I converſed long and much with him: and having ſince that time been in *Genoa* it ſelf, I have ſeen ſo clearly the truth of all that he told me, that I may now aſſure you of all that learnt from him. He had a ſtrange affection to his *Great Monarch*, and fancied that the obligations of raiſing *his Glory*, was ſuperior to all other: and no doubt he reckoned to find his own account in it, if he could have been the occaſion of making the *King of France* Maſter of *Genoa*: therefore he drew up the whole *Project*, and ſhewed both of what Importance the thing was, and how eaſily it might be executed: for I have a *Copy* of the whole *Scheme*, which

Mr.

Mr. *St. Olon* ſent to the *Court of France*, of which Mr. *Valdyron* was indeed the *Author*; the deſign being entertained, *St. Olon* had an Intimation given him, to withdraw ſome day's before the *French fleet* came before the *Town*. But *Valdyron* was left to try his hard fate; for as ſoon as the *Fleet* began to do Acts of Hoſtility, *Valdyron*, who had been know to be much with *St. Olon*, was clapt in *Priſon*, and while he was in it, a *Bomb* broke thro his Priſon, but did him no hurt, only the violent noiſe it made weakned the Tympan of his *Ear* ſo much, that he loſt his hearing of one ſide.

But he, as well as all *Genoa*, fancied they were loſt, and that the *French* muſt be certainly Maſters of the *Place* in a few hours. The Conſternation and Confuſion was ſo great, that if at firſt a great ſhower or *Bombs* had been thrown into the *Town*, and a deſcent had been made, they had certainly ſucceeded; for the *people* were in ſuch a diſorder, that the *Magiſtrates* were not regarded; and indeed many of them ſhewed as much fear as the rabble did. But the *French*, inſtead of beginning vigorouſly at firſt, threw in *one* Bomb, and after ſome hours *another*; and ſo went on ſlowly for a day or two; in which time, the *People* began to get into order, and to take heart: and now their firſt fear, turned to a Rage againſt the *French*; ſo that when they made a deſcent, they found

ſuch

ſuch a Reſiſtance, that they were forced to go back to their *Ships*, having left behind them 500 of their beſt *Men:* and the *Fleet* continnued *Bombarding* the *Town*, till they had ſhot all their *Boubs*; and when their ſtore was ſpent, they ſail'd away, having laid a great many noble *buildings* in ruines.

The *morality* of this way of proceeding, was ſomewhat hard to be found out: the *Italians* do not ſtick to ſay, it was an *Aſſaſſinat*, when without Warning or proceeding in the way of a fair *War*, a *fleet* came and ſurpriſed and burnt a *Town*: but the Conduct was as extraordinary, as the Action it ſelf was honourable and worthy of aMOST CHRISTIAN KING.

It was pleaſant to hear a *Spaniard*, that belonged to the Count of *Melgar* talk of this matter: he ſaid, that in this, *France* had acted as it had done on many other occaſions, in which tho it had the favourableſt conjuncture poſſible, it had done nothing ſuteable to what might have been expected; for tho they had here a calm *Sea*, for four days, which is a very Extraordinary thing in the *Bay* of *Genoa*, that is almoſt always in a *Storm*, and tho they had ſurpriſed the *Town*, that had not the leaſt apprehenſion of ſuch a Deſign, and found them in a condition not likely to have reſiſted a much ſmaller Force; yet he ſaid, that Feebleneſs which had appeared upon many other occaſions, ſhewed it ſelf likewiſe here, ſince this

this great Expedition failed, and the Reproach of first attempting it, and then Miscarrying in it, was studied to be carried off by this, that the design was only to *Chastise Genoa*, at which there is not a *man* in the *Town* that does not laugh. He upon this took a great compass for these last twenty *years* backwards, to shew that there was nothing extraordinary in all this *Reign*, that had been the Subject of so many *Panegyricks*, unless this may be reckoned extraordinary, that there has been so little progress made, when they had the fairest opportunities possible: an Infant *King* of *Spain*, and a feeble *Council*, and a Distraction in the *States* of *Holland*; so that the first Successes that were the Effects of the weakness and surprise of those that were attackt, are rather a Reproach than a Glory to a *Reign*, that has understood so ill how to serve it self of those advantages that had nothing of the Greatness of a *Conquering* Genius in it; and where the *Ministry* shewed rather an exactness in executing little Projects, than a largeness of Soul in laying vast ones. I could not but be pleased to see a *Spaniard*, find somewhat that entertained his Pride in the Contempt of the *French*, at the same time that the low estate of their Affairs, made him feel the depression of their own *Empire* as much as the progress of the Great Monarch of *France*.

But now I cannot but tell you the rest of *Valdy-*

Valdyron's Story: as ſoon as the *French* were gone, the Government of *Genoa* began to examin him, but he ſtood to his denial, and ſaid, he knew nothing: all his *Effects* were ſeiſed on and diſſipated, and he himſelf was four or five times put to the ſtrapado, which was done by tying his hands behind his back, and fetching them over his Head, which diſjoynted his Arms and Shoulder-blades, in a moſt terrible manner, yet he had the firmneſs to ſtand it out: and ſo they could draw nothing from him: but as ſoon as the *Court* of *France* underſtood, that both he, and ſeveral other *Frenchmen*, that lived in *Genoa*, were put in Priſon, the *Reſident* of *Genoa* was clapt up at *Paris*: and when the Overtures were made to accommodate this matter *Valdyron* was no more ill uſed, and after ſome Months he was ſet at Liberty: but his *Eſtate* was quite loſt: yet he came to *France*, not doubting but that ſo great a Service, and ſuch ſevere Suffering, would have procured him ſome conſiderable Reward: but after he had languiſhed there above a year, he got a *Penſion*, that was juſt enough to keep him alive, of two hundred *Crowns*: and even that was ſtopt, as ſoon it was known that he was of the *Religion*, till he changed. This piece of Gratitude for ſuch a Service, that had coſt him ſo dear, was no extraordinary Encouragement for others to venture as he had done. Yet I who knew him well, for al-

almost two years; could not but admire the wonderful Zeal he had for the Glory of his *King*; for in the midst of all his Misery, and of all the Neglect he met with, having fallen from so flourishing a condition, he could never be brought to think that he had done foolishly: but was rather proud of it, that he had formed so sure a Scheme, for putting *Genoa* into his *Masters* hands: and this he said often to me, when he was so poor, that he did not know where to dine. The affinity of the matter, makes me call to mind a conversation that I had at *Rome*, with two of the Old *Magistrates* of *Messina*; who had been men that bore a great stroak in that *Town*, during the *Revolt*: and were than reduced to the misery of accepting a Charity. They told us, that all the *Oaths*, that Mr. *de Vivonne*, and Mr. *la Fueillade*, swore to them in the *Kings* name, as well as in their own, never to abandon them, which were made upon the *Sacrament*, besides whole Valleys of *Oaths*, that Mr. *le Fueillade* made them from morning to night, while he was among them, it seems went for nothing, but matters of form: yet they said, they thought the *French Ministry* would have considered the *Kings Interests*, if they had no regard to his *Honour*. They added, that if the *King* of *France*, when he found the War of *Messina* lay heavy upon him, had sent to *Spain*, and offered to that *Court*, as a pledge of the Peace that he was offering them at *Nimmegen*,

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to put *Meſſina* again into their hands, provided they would grant an *Indemnity* for what was paſt, and a Confirmation of their Antient *Privileges*, of which he himſelf would be the *Garand*, this they ſaid the *Spaniards* would have without doubt, accepted as ſomething come to them from Heaven: and if the matter had ended thus, as it would have been highly honourable for the *King*, ſo it would have given him the dependance both of *Sicily* and *Naples*, and have kept them ſtill in a diſpoſition to throw themſelves into his hands: whereas in the way that their buſineſs ended, if there ſhould be in any time hereafter, a provocation given in thoſe parts to *revolt*, they would ſooner throw themſelves into the Arms of the *Turk*, if he ſhould be again in a condition to protect them, than of thoſe who had abandoned them in ſo ſtrange a manner, taking no care neither of the *Priviledges* of the *Town* in general, nor of thoſe particular *Perſons*, who had rendred themſelves unpardonable to the *Spaniards*. It is true, ſome were brought away to *France*, the *two* that I have mentioned were of that number, and had ſmall *Penſions* aſſigned them, which were but ill payed: and becauſe ſome of them had not patience enough to bear ſuch an unlooked for Uſage, but complained freely of it, a pretence was taken from thence, to *baniſh* them all out of *France*; ſo that ever ſince they have ſuffered a great deal of Miſery. I will not digreſs

digress so far as to give you an account of that whole *Revolt*, which they justified to us, from the great *Priviledges* of their *Town*, which were indeed such as made it a sort of a *Common-wealth*: that had a right to defend it self against those manifest Infractions with which they charged the *Spaniards*. They told us, that the Confiscations of *Messina* had amounted to twenty *Millions*: and yet for all that the *King of Spain* was not much the richer by their Ruin; for the *Vice-Roy* and *Government* of *Sicily*, pretended to exhaust all by a *Citadel* that they are building: and by some other publick Works. In Conclusion, the two poor *Messinesses*, seeing a *Dutchman* in our Company, turned the Discourse to him, and wished him to warn his *Countreymen*, by their Fate, how much some *Courts* ought to be relied on.

And now I have done with all the *Political Observations*, that I could make in *Italy*. But as I begun this *Letter* with one piece of *Natural History*, I will end it with another. The *first* was a way of preparing of *Salt*, and the *second* is a new way of preparing of *Vitriol*, which was lately set up in the *Sulfatara*, near *Puzzolo*. It has not been long enough a going, to enable one to judge how it will succeed; but yet all things are very promising; and that which gives a good Prospect of it, is, that all is done without the expence of any *fire*. The Method of it is this. There

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are ſeveral *Ciſterns* made in that great Bottom of the *Sulfatara*, of great *ſtones* Cemented very cloſe: into theſe all the *Rain* both of that Bottom, and of the little Hill that are round it does fall, which is impregnated with *Vitriol:* they do alſo lay a great many Tiles and Bricks before all thoſe Vents, that the Fire which is in this Soil makes: and where the Smoak comes out, with ſo rapid a violence; ſo that this Smoke paſſing thro theſe Bricks, leaves a great deal of *Sulphur* and *Vitriol* upon them: and theſe Bricks are waſhed in thoſe *Ciſterns*, and by this means the *Water* becomes impregnated with *Vitriol:* then they put the Water into *Coppers*; which they ſet over thoſe violent hot Eruptions; ſo that this ſerves as a Fire, to evaporate the Phlegm, and ſo they find quantities of *Vitriol.* The revenue of this goes to the *Annunciata* of *Naples*: and they begin to promiſe themſelves great advantages from it: but a little time will ſhew this, as well as greater matters. I will add no new trouble, to that which the length of this *Letter* muſt needs have given you: ſo I will conclude, without any other Formality, but that of aſſuring you that I am,

SIR,

Your moſt humble Servant.

POST-

POST-SCRIPT.

SInce I added a *Poſtſcript* to my *two* former *Letters*, I intend to make this ſo far of a piece with them, as to conclude this likewiſe with one; for I find, looking over the little Notes that I took, a Particular that had eſcaped me, and yet it ſeems to deſerve to be mentioned: and ſince I have not brought it into my *Letters*, I have reſolved to make a *Poſtſcript* expreſs for it.

There is a little *Town* in the *Appennins*, about 25 milies from *Rome*, called *Norcia*, near which there is a conſiderable *Abbey*, which belongs now to a *Cardinal*. This *Town*, tho it lies within the *Popes* Territory, yet has ſuch great Priviledges ſtill reſerved to it, that it may paſs in ſome ſort for a free *Common-wealth*. They make their *Laws*, and chooſe their own *Magiſtrates*; but that which is the moſt extraordinary part of their Conſtitution, and that is the moſt exactly obſerved, is, that they are ſo jealous of all *Prieſts*, and of their having any ſhare in their *Government*, that no man that can either read or write is capable of bearing a ſhare in their Government: ſo that their *Magiſtracy*, which conſiſts of 4 *Perſons*, is always in the hands of *Unlettered* Men, who are called there *Li quatri Illiterati*: for they think the leaſt ten-

tendency to Letters, would bring them under the ordinary Miſeries that they ſee all their Neighbours are brought under by the credit in which both the *Robes* are among them. And they are ſo ſhy of all *Churchmen* and ſo jealous of their *Liberty*, that when the *Cardinal* comes during the Heats of the Summer ſometimes, to his *Abbey*, they take no notice of him, nor do they make any ſort of Court to him. One that has been oft there, told me, that by divers of their Cuſtoms they ſeem to be of the race of the old *Latines*; and that their Situation and their Poverty had at all times preſerved them: yet they are not ſuch Strangers to the manners of the reſt of the *Italians* as not to take pleaſure in ſevere revenges, of which this Inſtance was given me. The *Abbot* that was the *Cardinals* Predeceſſor, had an *Auditor* who was much in his favour, that made love to the *Wife* of one of the *Magiſtrates* of *Norcir*, which ſhe diſcovered to her *Husband*; he ordered her to give the *Auditor* an Appointment; but provided a good *Surgeon* and all other things that were neceſſary to put the *Auditor* out of all danger of breaking his Vow of Chaſtity: for he was a *Churchman*; and the *Auditor* not failing to obſerve his rendezvous, was caught, and the operation was performed with all poſſible care: and he was treated very well till he was quite cured, and then he was ſent back to his *Patron*. The *Abbot* was highly offended with

with this affront that was done him: and it may be eaſily believed that the *Auditor* was not well pleaſed with this forced Chaſtity that was now Impoſed on him: ſo they ſent an Information of the matter to the *Rota*; and asked their opinion? but the *Court* of the *Rota* was wiſer than to ſuffer a matter of this nature to become publick. To this I ſhall add a pleaſant thing that was told me concerning *Prieſts* that fell under the misfortune of this *Auditor*. It is known, that according to the *Canon Law*, the one Indelible Character defaces the other: and that a *Prieſt* ſo treated can no more ſay *Maſs*: yet I was told that this diſtinction was uſed, that if the *Prieſt* had *all* that was taken from him reſtored to him, ſo that he could carry it in his *Pocket*, he was ſtill eſteemed *entire* and might ſay *Maſs*; but unleſs he could have the conſolation of carrying thoſe things *dead* about him, that had been perhaps to *quick* before, the Character was loſt, or was at leaſt under a total ſuſpenſion: If all this is a littl e too pleaſant and too natural, a little good humour muſt be forgiven to a *Traveller*, whoſe Spirits are too much in motion, to be ſo ſetled and ſo grave as they ought to be.

FINIS.

ERRATA.

Page 6. line 16. dele *of*. P. 9. l. 22. portion r. *proportion*. P. 16. l. 18. after and r. *upon*. P. 22. l. 4. dele *that*. P. 27. l. 7. r. *that was*. P. 34. l. 23. cited r. *ſaid*. P. 36. l. 19. is r. *it*. P. 38. l. 18. dele *a*. P. 47. l. laſt. r. *ſlippers*. P. 48. l. 9. ſling. r. *fling*. l. 20. hear. r. *bear*. P. 70. l. 26. is r. *were*. p. 82. l. 11. ſtrong r. *ſtrange*. P. 83. l. 8. or r. *of*. P. 85. l. 9. Sir. r. *St*. P. 87. l. 16. 235. r. 35. P. 89. l. 3. r. *Damnatos*. P. 130. l. 11. me. r. *we* P. 137. l. 10. where r. *when*. P. 169. l. 18. ſhut r. *Shot*. P. 171. l. 18. in r. *it*. p. 147. *l*. 7. after *you* r. *may*. p. 166. l. 7. after *for*, r. *among*. p. 171. l. 25, *on it* r. *mounted*. p. 173. l. 11. *that the*, r. *that their*.